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AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

IN THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF

COL. JAMES SMITH,

(Now a Citizen of Bourbon County, Kentucky,)

DURING HIS CAPTIVITY WITH THE INDIANS,

IN THE YEARS 1755, '56, '57, '58, & '59.

In which the Cuſtoms, Manners, Traditions, Theological Sentiments, Mode of Warfare, Military Tactics, Diſcipline and Encampments, Treatment of priſoners, &c. are better explained, and more minutely related, than has been heretofore done, by any author on that ſubject. Together with a Deſcription of the Soil, Timber and Waters, where he travelled with the Indians, during his captivity.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Brief Account of ſome Very Uncommon Occurrences, which tranſpired after his return from captivity; as well as of the Different Campaigns carried on againſt the Indians to the weſtward of Fort Pitt, ſince the year 1755, to the preſent date.

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WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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PREFACE.

I WAS ſtrongly urged to publiſh the following work, immediately after my return from captivity, which was nearly forty years ago—but, as at that time the Americans were ſo little acquainted with Indian affairs, I apprehended a great part of it would be viewed as fable or romance.

As the Indians never attempted to prevent me either from reading or writing, I kept a Journal, which I reviſed ſhortly after my return from captivity, and which I have kept ever ſince: and as I have had but a moderate Engliſh education, have been adviſed to employ ſome perſon of liberal education to tranſcribe and embelliſh it—but believing that nature always outſhines art, have thought, that occurrences truly and plainly ſtated, as they happened, would make the beſt hiſtory, be better underſtood, and moſt entertaining.

In the different Indian ſpeeches copied into this work, I have not only imitated their own ſtyle, or mode of ſpeaking, but have alſo preſerved the ideas meant to be communicated in thoſe ſpeeches—In common converſation, I have uſed my own ſtyle, but preſerved their ideas. The principal advantage that I expect will reſult to the public, from the publication of the following ſheets, is the *obſervations on the Indian mode of warfare.* Experience has taught the Americans the neceſſity of adopting their mode, and the more perfect we are in that mode, the better we ſhall be able to defend ourſelves againſt them, when defence is neceſſary.

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REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES, &c.

IN May 1755, the province of Pennſylvania, agreed to ſend out three hundred men, in order to cut a waggon road from Fort Loudon, to join Braddock's road, near the Turkey Foot, or three forks of Yohogania. My brother-in-law, William Smith eſq. of Conococheague, was appointed commiſſioner, to have the overſight of theſe road-cutters.

Though I was at that time only eighteen years of age, I had fallen violently in love with a young lady, whom I apprehended was poſſeſſed of a large ſhare of both beauty and virtue; but being born between Venus and Mars, I concluded I muſt alſo leave my dear fair one, and go out with this company of road-cutters, to ſee the event of this campaign; but ſtill expecting that ſome time in the courſe of this ſummer, I ſhould again return to the arms of my beloved.

We went on with the road, without interruption, until near the Allegheny Mountain; when I was ſent back, in order to hurry up ſome proviſion waggons that were on the way after us; I proceeded down the road as far as the croſſings of Juniata, where, finding the waggons were coming on as faſt as poſſible, I returned up the road again towards the Allegheny Mountain, in company with one Arnold Vigoras. About four or five miles above Bedford, three Indians had made a blind of buſhes, ſtuck in the ground, as though they grew naturally, where they concealed themſelves, about fifteen yards from the road. When we came oppoſite to them, they fired upon us, at this ſhort diſtance, and killed my fellow traveller, yet their bullets did not touch me; but my horſe making a violent ſtart, threw me, and the Indians immediately ran up, and took me priſoner. The one that laid hold on me was a Canaſatauga, the other two were Delawares. One of them could ſpeak Engliſh, and aſked me if there were any more white men coming when I told them not any near, that I knew of. Two of theſe Indians ſtood by me, whilſt the other ſcalped my comrade; they then ſet off and ran at a ſmart rate, through the woods, for about fifteen miles, and that night we ſlept on the Alegheny Mountain, without fire.

The next morning they divided the laſt of their proviſion which they had brought from Fort DuQueſne, and gave me an equal ſhare, which was about two or three ounces of mouldy biſcuit—this and a young Ground-Hog, about as large as a Rabbit, roaſted, and alſo equally divided, was all the proviſion we had until we came to the Loyal-Hannan, which was about fifty miles; and a great part of the way we came through exceeding rocky Laurel-thickets, without any path. When we came to the Weſt ſide of Laurel-Hill, they gave the ſcalp halloo, as uſual, which is a long yell or halloo, for every ſcalp or priſoner they have in poſſeſſion; the laſt of theſe ſcalp halloos were followed with quick and ſudden, ſhrill ſhouts of joy and triumph. On their performing this, we were anſwered by the firing of a number of guns on the Loyal-Hannan, one after another, quicker than one could count, by another party of Indians, who were encamped near where Ligoneer now ſtands. As we advanced near this party, they increaſed with repeated ſhouts of joy and triumph; but I did not ſhare with them in their exceſſive mirth. When we came to this camp, we found they had plenty of Turkeys and other meat, there; and though I never before eat veniſon without bread or ſalt, yet as I was hungry, it reliſhed very well. There we lay that night, and the next morning the whole of us marched on our way for Fort DuQueſne. The night after we joined another camp of Indians, with nearly the ſame ceremony, attended with great noiſe, and apparent joy, among all, except one. The next morning we continued our march, and in the afternoon we came in full view of the fort, which ſtood on the point, near where Fort Pitt now ſtands. We then made a halt on the bank of the Alegheny, and repeated the ſcalp halloo, which was anſwered by the firing of all the firelocks in the hands of both Indians and French who were in and about the fort, in the aforeſaid manner, and alſo the great guns, which were followed by the continued ſhouts and yells of the different ſavage tribes who were then collected there.

As I was at this time unacquainted with this mode of firing and yelling of the ſavages, I concluded that there were thouſands of Indians there, ready to receive General Braddock; but what added to my ſurpriſe, I ſaw numbers running towards me, ſtripped naked, excepting breech-clouts, and painted in the moſt hideous manner, of various colors, though the principal color was vermillion, or a bright red; yet there was annexed to this, black, brown, blue, &c. As they approached, they formed themſelves into two long ranks, about two or three rods apart. I was told by an Indian that could ſpeak Engliſh, that I muſt run betwixt theſe ranks, and that they would flog me all the way, as I ran, and if I ran quick, it would be ſo much the better, as they would quit when I got to the end of the ranks. There appeared to be a general rejoicing around me, yet, I could find nothing like joy in my breaſt; but I ſtarted to the race with all the reſolution and vigor I was capable of exerting, and found that it was as I had been told, for I was flogged the whole way. When I had got near the end of the lines, I was ſtruck with ſomething that appeared to me to be a ſtick, or the handle of a tommahawk, which cauſed me to fall to the ground. On my recovering my ſenſes, I endeavored to renew my race; but as I aroſe, ſome one caſt ſand in my eyes, which blinded me ſo, that I could not ſee where to run. They continued beating me moſt intolerably, until I was at length inſenſible; but before I loſt my ſenſes, I remember my wiſhing them to ſtrike the fatal blow, for I thought they intended killing me, but apprehended they were too long about it.

The firſt thing I remember was my being in the fort, amidſt the French and Indians, and a French doctor ſtanding by me, who had opened a vein in my left arm; after which the interpreter aſked me how I did, I told him I felt much pain; the doctor then waſhed my wounds, and the bruiſed places of my body, with French brandy. As I felt faint, and the brandy ſmelt well, I aſked for ſome inwardly, but the doctor told me, by the interpreter, that it did not ſuit my caſe.

When they found I could ſpeak, a number of Indians came around me, and examined me with threats of cruel death, if I did not tell the truth. The firſt queſtion they aſked me, was, how many men were there in the party that were coming from Pennſylvania, to join Braddock? I told them the truth, that there were three hundred. The next queſtion was, were they well armed? I told them them they were all well armed, (meaning the arm of fleſh) for they had only about thirty guns among the whole of them; which, if the Indians had known, they would certainly have gone and cut them all off; therefore I could not in conſcience let them know the defenceleſs ſituation of theſe road-cutters. I was then ſent to the hoſpital, and carefully attended by the doctors, and recovered quicker than what I expected.

Some time after I was there, I was viſited by the Delaware Indian already mentioned, who was at the taking of me, and could ſpeak ſome Engliſh. Though he ſpoke but bad Engliſh, yet I found him to be a man of conſiderable underſtanding. I aſked him if I had done any thing that had offended the Indians, which cauſed them to treat me ſo unmercifully? He ſaid no, it was only an old cuſtom the Indians had, and it was like how do you do; after that he ſaid I would be well uſed. I aſked him if I ſhould be admitted to remain with the French? He ſaid no—and told me that as ſoon as I recovered, I muſt not only go with the Indians, but muſt be made an Indian myſelf. I aſked him what news from Braddock's army? He ſaid the Indians ſpied them every day, and he ſhewed me by making marks on the ground with a ſtick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very cloſe order, and that the Indians would ſurround them, take trees, and (as he expreſſed it) *ſhoot um down all one pigeon.*

Shortly after this, on the 9th day of July 1755, in the morning I heard a great ſtir in the fort. As I could then walk with a ſtaff in my hand, I went out of the door which was juſt by the wall of the fort, and ſtood upon the wall and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate, where were barrels of powder, bullets, flints &c. and every one taking what ſuited; I ſaw the Indians alſo march off in rank, intire—likewiſe the French Canadians, and ſome regulars, after viewing the Indians and French in different poſitions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out againſt Braddock with ſo ſmall a party. I was then in high hopes that I would ſoon ſee them flying before the Britiſh troops, and that general Braddock would take the fort and reſcue me.

I remained anxious to know the event of this day; and in the afternoon I again obſerved a great noiſe and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not underſtand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

I had obſerved ſome of the old-country ſoldiers ſpeak Dutch, as I ſpoke Dutch I went to one of them, and aſked him what was the news? he told me that a runner had juſt arrived, who ſaid that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had ſurrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a conſtant fire upon the Engliſh, and that they ſaw the Engliſh falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river which was the only gap, and make their eſcape, there would not be one man left alive before ſun down. Some time after this I heard a number of ſcalp halloo's and ſaw a company of Indians and French coming in. I obſerved they had a great many bloody ſcalps, grenadiers' caps, Britiſh canteens, bayonets &c. with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it ſeemed to me that almoſt every one of this company was carrying ſcalps; after this came another company with a number of waggon-horſes, and alſo a great many ſcalps. Thoſe that were coming in, and thoſe that had arrived, kept a conſtant firing of ſmall arms, and alſo the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the moſt hedious ſhouts and yells from all quarters; ſo that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke looſe.

About ſun down I beheld a ſmall party coming in with about a dozen priſoners, ſtripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces, and part of their bodies blacked—theſe priſoners they burned to death on the bank of Alegheny River oppoſite to the fort. I ſtood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of theſe men, they had him tied to a ſtake and kept touching him with fire-brands, red-hod irons &c. and he ſcreeming in a moſt doleful manner,—the Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal ſpirits. As this ſcene appeared too ſhocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodging both ſore and ſorry.

When I came into my longings I ſaw Ruſſel's Seven Sermons, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a preſent of to me. From the beſt information I could receive there were only ſeven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred Britiſh lay dead in the field; beſides what were killed in the river on their retreat.

The morning after the battle I ſaw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort, the ſame day I alſo ſaw ſeveral Indians in Britiſh-officers' dreſs with ſaſh, half-moon, laced hats &c. which the Britiſh then wore.

A few days after this the Indians demanded me and I was obliged to go with them. I was not yet well able to march, but they took me in a canoe, up the Alegheny River to an Indian town that was on the north ſide of the river, about forty miles above Fort DuQueſne. Here I remained about three weeks, and was then taken to an Indian town on the weſt branch of Muſkingum, about twenty miles above the forks, which was called Tullihas, inhabited by Delawares, Caughnewagos and Mohicans.—On our rout betwixt the aforeſaid towns, the country was chiefly black-oak and white-oak land, which appeared generally to be good wheat land, chiefly ſecond and third rate, intermixed with ſome rich bottoms.

The day after my arrival at the aforeſaid town, a number of Indians collected about me, and one of them began to pull the hair out of my head. He had ſome aſhes on a piece of bark, in which he frequently diped his fingers in order to take the firmer hold, and ſo he went on, as if he had been plucking a turkey, until he had all the hair clean out of my head, except a ſmall ſpot about three or four inches ſquare on my crown; this they cut off with a pair of ſciſſors, excepting three locks, which they dreſſed up in their own mode. Two of theſe they wraped round with a narrow beaded garter made by themſelves for that purpoſe, and the other they platted at full length, and then ſtuck it full of ſilver broches. After this they bored my noſe and ears, and fixed me off with ear rings and noſe jewels, then they ordered me to ſtrip off my clothes and put on a breech-clout, which I did; they then painted my head, face and body in various colours. They put a large belt of wampom on my neck, and ſilver bands on my hands and right arm; and ſo an old chief led me out in the ſtreet and gave the alarm halloo, *coo-wigh*, ſeveral times repeated quick, and on this all that were in the town came running and ſtood round the old chief, who held me by the hand in the midſt.—As I at that time knew nothing of their mode of adoption, and had ſeen them put to death all they had taken, and as I never could find that they ſaved a man alive at Braddock's defeat, I made no doubt but they were about putting me to death in ſome cruel manner. The old chief holding me by the hand made a long ſpeech very loud, and when he had done he handed me to three young ſquaws, who led me by the hand down the bank into the river until the water was up to our middle. The ſquaws then made ſigns to me to plunge myſelf into the water, but I did not underſtand them; I thought that the reſult of the council was that I ſhould be drowned, and that theſe young ladies were to be the executioners. They all three laid violent hold of me, and I for ſome time oppoſed them with all my might, which occaſioned loud laughter by the multitude that were on the bank of the river. At length one of the ſquaws made out to ſpeak a little Engliſh (for I believe they began to be afraid of me) and ſaid, *no hurt you*; on this I gave myſelf up to their ladyſhips, who were as good as their word; for though they plunged me under water, and waſhed and rubbed me ſeverely, yet I could not ſay they hurt me much.

Theſe young women then led me up to the council houſe, where ſome of the tribe were ready with new cloths for me. They gave me a new ruffled ſhirt, which I put on, alſo a pair of leggins done off with ribbons and beads, likewiſe a pair of mockaſons, and garters dreſſed with beads, Porcupine-quills, and redhair—alſo a tinſel laced cappo. They again painted my head and face with various colors, and tied a bunch of red feathers to one of theſe locks they had left on the crown of my head, which ſtood up five or ſix inches. They ſeated me on a bear ſkin, and gave me a pipe, tomahawk, and polecat ſkin pouch, which had been ſkined pocket faſhion, and contained tobacco, killegenico, or dry ſumach leaves, which they mix with their tobacco,—alſo ſpunk, flint and ſteel. When I was thus ſeated, the Indians came in dreſſed and painted in their grandeſt manner. As they came in they took their ſeats, and for a conſiderable time there was a profound ſilence, every one was ſmoking,—but not a word was ſpoken among them.—At length one of the chiefs made a ſpeech which was delivered to me by an interpretor,—and was as followeth:—"My ſon, you are now fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bone. By the ceremony which was performed this day, every drop of white blood was waſhed out of your veins; you are taken into the Caughnewago nation, and initiated into a warlike tribe; you are adopted into a great family, and now received with great ſeriouſneſs and ſolemnity in the room and place of a great man; after what has paſſed this day, you are now one of us by an old ſtrong law and cuſtom.—My ſon, you have now nothing to fear, we are now under the ſame obligations to love, ſupport and defend you, that we are to love and defend one another, therefore you are to conſider yourſelf as one of our people."—At this time I did not believe this fine ſpeech, eſpecially that of the white blood being waſhed out of me;—but ſince that time I have found that there was much ſincerity in ſaid ſpeech,—for from that day I never knew them to make any diſtinction between me and themſelves in any reſpect whatever until I left them.—If they had plenty of cloathing I had plenty, if we were ſcarce we all ſhared one fate.

After this ceremony was over, I was introduced to my new kin, and told that I was to attend a feaſt that evening, which I did. And as the cuſtom was, they gave me alſo a bowl and wooden ſpoon, which I carried with me to the place, where there was a number of large braſs kettles full of boiled veniſon and green corn; every one advanced with his bowl and ſpoon and had his ſhare given him.—After this one of the chiefs made a ſhort ſpeech, and then we began to eat.

The name of one of the chiefs in this town was Tecanyaterighto, alias Pluggy, and the other Aſallecoa, alias Mohawk Solomon.—As Pluggy and his party were to ſtart the next day to war, to the frontiers of Virginia, the next thing to be performed was the war dance, and their war ſongs. At their war dance they had both vocal and inſtrumental muſic.—They had a ſhort hollow gum cloſe in one end, with water in it, and parchment ſtretched over the open end thereof, which they beat with one ſtick, and made a ſound nearly like a muffled drum,—all thoſe who were going on this expedition collected together and formed. An old Indian then began to ſing, and timed the muſic by beating on this drum, as the ancients formerly timed their muſic by beating the tabor. On this the warriors began to advance, or move forward in concert, like well diſciplined troops would march to the fife and drum. Each warrior had a tomahawk, ſpear or war-mallet in his hand, and they all moved regularly towards the eaſt, or the way they intended to go to war. At length they all ſtretched their tomahawks towards the Potomack, and giving a hideous ſhout or yell, they wheeled quick about, and danced in the ſame manner back. The next was the war ſong. In performing this, only one ſung at a time, in a moving poſture, with a tomahawk in his hand, while all the other warriors were engaged in calling aloud *he uh, he uh*, which they conſtantly repeated, while the war ſong was going on. When the warrior that was ſinging had ended his ſong, he ſtruck a war poſt with his tomahawk, and with a loud voice told what warlike exploits he had done, and what he now intended to do: which were anſwered by the other warriors, with loud ſhouts of applauſe. Some who had not before intended to go to war, at this time were ſo animated by this performance, that they took up the tomahawk and ſung the war ſong, which was anſwered with ſhouts of joy, as they were then initiated into the preſent marching company. The next morning this company all collected at one place, with their heads and faces painted with various colors, and packs upon their backs: they marched off, all ſilent, except the commander, who, in the front ſung the travelling ſong, which began in this manner, *hoo caughtainte heegana*. Juſt as the rear paſſed the end of the town, they began to fire in their ſlow manner, from the front to the rear, which was accompanied with ſhouts and yells from all quarters.

This evening I was invited to another ſort of dance, which was a kind of promiſcuous dance. The young men ſtood in one rank, and the young women in another, about one rod apart, facing each other. The one that raiſed the tune, or ſtarted the ſong, held a ſmall gourd or dry ſhell of a ſquaſh in his hand, which contained beads or ſmall ſtones, which rattled. When he began to ſing, he timed the tune with his rattle; both men and women danced and ſung together, advancing towards each other, ſtooping until their heads would be touching together, and then ceaſed from dancing, with loud ſhouts, and retreated and formed again, and ſo repeated the ſame thing over and over, for three or four hours, without intermiſſion. This exerciſe appeared to me at firſt, irrational and inſipid; but I found that in ſinging their tunes, they uſed *ya ne no hoo wa ne*, &c. like our *fa ſol la*, [illegible] cal lay, and though they have no ſuch thing as jingling verſe, yet they can intermix ſentences with their notes, and ſay what they pleaſe to each other, and carry on the tune in concert. I found that this was a kind of wooing or courting dance, and as they advanced ſtooping with their heads together, they could ſay what they pleaſed in each others ear, without diſconcerting their rough muſic, and the others, or thoſe near, not hear what they ſay.

Shortly after this I went out to hunt, in company with Mohawk Solomon, ſome of the Caughnewagas and a Delaware Indian that was married to a Caughnewaga ſquaw. We travelled about ſouth, from this town, and the firſt night we killed nothing, but we had with us green corn, which we roaſted and ate that night. The next day we encamped about twelve o'clock, and the hunters turned out to hunt, and I went down the run that we encamped on, in company with ſome ſquaws and boys, to hunt plumbs, which we found in great plenty. On my return to camp I obſerved a large piece of fat meat: the Delaware Indian that could talk ſome Engliſh, obſerved me looking earneſtly at this meat, and aſked me *what meat you think that is?* I ſaid I ſuppoſed it was bear meat; he laughed and ſaid, *ho, all one fool you, beal now elly pool*, and pointing to the other ſide of the camp, he ſaid *look at that ſkin, you think that beal ſkin?* I went and lifted the ſkin, which appeared like an ox hide: he then ſaid, *what ſkin you think that?* I replied that I thought it was a buffaloe hide; he laughed and ſaid *you fool again, you know nothing, you think buffaloe that colo?* I acknowledged I did not know much about theſe things, and told him I never ſaw a buffaloe, and that I had not heard what color they were. He replyed *by and by you ſhall ſee gleat many buffaloe: He now go to gleat lick. That ſkin no buffaloe ſkin, that ſkin buck-elk ſkin.* They went out with horſes, and brought in the remainder of this buck-elk, which was the fatteſt creature I ever ſaw of the tallow kind.

We remained at this camp about eight or ten days, and killed a number of deer. Though we had neither bread or ſalt at this time, yet we had both roaſt and boiled meat in great plenty, and they were frequently inviting me to eat, when I had no appetite.

We then moved to the buffaloe lick, where we killed ſeveral buffaloe, and in their ſmall braſs kettles they made about half a buſhel of ſalt. I ſuppoſe this lick was about thirty or forty miles from the aforeſaid town, and ſomewhere between the Muſkingum, Ohio and Sciota. About the lick was clear, open woods, and thin white-oak land, and at that time there were large creek leading to the left, [illegible]. We moved from this last place in our bark canoes and encamped on a creek.

Though the Indians had given me a gun, I had not yet been permitted to go out from the camp to hunt. At this place Mohawk Solomon asked me to go out with him to hunt, which I readily agreed to. After some time we came upon some fresh buffaloe tracks. I had observed before this that the Indians were upon their guard, and afraid of an enemy; for, until now, they and the southern nations had been at war. As we were following the buffaloe tracks, Solomon seemed to be upon his guard, went very slow, and would frequently stand and listen, and appeared to be in suspense. We came to where the tracks were very plain in the sand, and I said it is surely buffaloe tracks; he said *hush, you know nothing, may be buffaloe tracks, may be Catawba*. He went very cautious until we found some fresh buffaloe dung: he then smiled and said *Catawba can not make so*. He then stopped and told me an odd story about the Catawbas. He said that formerly the Catawbas came near one of their hunting camps, and at some distance from the camp lay in ambush, and in order to decoy them out, sent two or three Catawbas in the night, past their camp, with buffaloe hoofs fixed on their feet, so as to make artificial tracks. In the morning those in the camp followed after these tracks, thinking they were buffaloe, until they were fired on by the Catawbas, and several of them killed; the others fled, collected a party and pursued the Catawbas; but they, in their subtilty brought with them rattlesnake poison, which they had collected from the bladder that lieth at the root of the snakes teeth; this they had corked up in a short piece of a cane-stalk; they had also brought with them small cane or reed, about the size of a rye straw, which they made sharp at the end like a pen, and dipped them in this poison, and stuck them in the ground among the grass, along their own tracks, in such a position that they might stick into the legs of the pursuers, which answered the design; and as the Catawbas had runners behind to watch the motion of the pursuers, when they found that a number of them were lame, being artificially snake bit, and that they were all turning back, the Catawbas turned upon the pursuers, and defeated them, and killed and scalped all those that were lame. When Solomon had finished this story, and found that I understood him, he concluded by saying, *you don't know, Catawba velly bad Indian, Catawba all one devil Catawba*.

Some time after this, I was told to take the dogs with me and go down the creek, perhaps I might kill a turkey; it being in the afternoon, I was also told not to go far from the creek, and to come up the creek again to the camp, and to take care not to get lost. When I had gone some distance down the creek, I came upon fresh buffaloe tracks, and as I had a number of dogs with me to stop the buffaloe, I concluded I would follow after and kill one; and as the grass and weeds were rank, I could readily follow the track. A little before sundown, I despaired of coming up with them: I was then thinking how I might get to camp before night: I concluded as the buffaloe had made several turns, if I took the track back to the creek, it would be dark before I could get to camp; therefore I thought I would take a near way through the hills, and strike the creek a little below the camp; but as it was cloudy weather, and I a very young woodsman, I could find neither creek or camp. When night came on I fired my gun several times, and hallooed, but could have no answer. The next morning early, the Indians were out after me, and as I had with me ten or a dozen dogs, and the grass and weeds rank, they could readily follow my track. When they came up with me, they appeared to be in a very good humour. I asked Tecaughretanego if he thought I was running away, he said no no, *you go too much clock-ways*. On my return to camp they took my gun from me, and for this rash step I was reduced to a bow and arrows, for near two years. We were out on this tour about six weeks.

This country is generally hilly, though intermixed with considerable quantities of rich upland, and some good bottoms.

When we returned to the town, Pluggy and his party had arrived, and brought with them a considerable number of scalps and prisoners from the South Branch of Potomack: they also brought with them an English Bible, which they gave to a Dutch woman who was a prisoner; but as she could not read English, she made a present of it to me, which was very acceptable.

I remained in this town until some time in October, when my adopted brother, called Tontileaugo, who had married a Wyandot squaw, took me with him to Lake Erie. We proceeded up the west branch of Muskingum, and for some distance up the river the land was hilly but intermixed with large bottoms [illegible] springs, and excellent bottoms. We proceeded on to the head waters of the west branch of Muskingum. On the head waters of this branch, and from thence to the waters of Canesadooharie, there is a large body of rich, well lying land, the timber is ash, walnut, sugar-tree, buckeye, honey-locust and cherry, intermixed with some oak, hickory, &c. This tour was at the time that the black-haws were ripe, and we were seldom out of sight of them: they were common here both in the bottoms and upland.

On this route we had no horſes with us, and when we ſtarted from the town, all the pack I carried was a pouch, containing my books, a little dried veniſon, and my blanket. I had then no gun, but Tontileaugo who was a firſt rate hunter, carried a rifle gun, and every day killed deer, raccoons or bears. We left the meat, excepting a little for preſent uſe, and carried the ſkins with us until we encamped, and then ſtretched them with elm bark, in a frame made with poles ſtuck in the ground and tied together with lynn or elm bark; and when the ſkins were dried by the fire, we packed them up, and carried them with us the next day.

As Tontileaugo could not ſpeak Engliſh, I had to make uſe of all the Caughnewaga I had learned even to talk very imperfectly with him: but I found I learned to talk Indian faſter this way, than when I had thoſe with me who could ſpeak Engliſh.

As we proceeded down the Caneſadooharie waters, our packs encreaſed by the ſkins that were daily killed, and became ſo very heavy that we could not march more than eight or ten miles per day. We came to Lake Erie about ſix miles weſt of the mouth of Caneſadooharie. As the wind was very high the evening we came to the Lake, I was ſurpriſed to hear the roaring of the water, and ſee the high waves that daſhed againſt the ſhore, like the Ocean. We encamped on a run near the lake; and as the wind fell that night, the next morning the lake was only in a moderate motion, and we marched on the ſand along the ſide of the water, frequently reſting ourſelves, as we were heavy laden. I ſaw on the ſtrand, a number of large fiſh, that had been left in flat or hollow places; as the wind fell and the waves abated, they were left without water, or only a ſmall quantity; and numbers of Bald and Grey Eagles, &c. were along the ſhore devouring them.

Some time in the afternoon we came to a large camp of Wiandots, at the mouth of Caneſadooharie, where Tontileaugo's wife was. Here we were kindly received: they gave us a kind of rough, brown potatoes, which grow ſpontaneouſly and is called by the Caughnewagas ohnenata. Theſe potatoes peeled and dipped in racoons' fat, taſte nearly like our ſweet potatoes. They alſo gave us what they call caneheanta, which is a kind of homony, made of green corn, dried, and beans mixed together.

From the head waters of Caneſadooharie to this place, the land is generally good; chiefly firſt or ſecond rate, and, comparatively, little or no third rate. The only refuſe is ſome ſwamps, that appear to be too wet for uſe, yet I apprehend that a number of them, if drained, would make excellent meadows. The timber is black-oak, walnut, hickory, cherry, black-aſh, white-aſh, water-aſh, buckeye, black-locuſt, honey-locuſt, ſugar-tree and elm: there is alſo ſome land, though comparatively but ſmall, where the timber is chiefly white-oak or beech—this may be called third rate. In the bottoms, and alſo many places in the upland, there is a large quantity of wild apple, plumb, and red and black-haw trees. It appeared to be well watered, and a plenty of meadow ground, intermixed with upland, but no large prairies or glades, that I ſaw, or heard of. In this route, deer, bear, turkeys and racoons, appeared plenty, but no buffaloe, and very little ſign of elks.

We continued our camp at the mouth of Caneſadooharie for ſome time, where we killed ſome deer, and a great many racoons; the racoons here were remarkably large and fat.—At length we all embarked in a large birch-bark canoe. This veſſel was about four feet wide, and three feet deep, and about five and thirty feet long; and tho it could carry a heavy burden, it was ſo artfully and curiouſly conſtructed, that four men could carry it ſeveral miles, or from one landing place to another, or from the waters of the Lake to the waters of the Ohio.—We proceeded up Caneſadooharie a few miles, and went on ſhore to hunt; but to my great ſurpriſe they carried the veſſel that we all came in up the bank, and inverted it or turned the bottom up, and converted it to a dwelling houſe, and kindled a fire before us to warm ourſelves by and cook. With our baggage and ourſelves in this houſe, we were very much crouded, yet our little houſe turned off the rain very well.

We kept moving and hunting up this river until we came to the falls; here we remained ſome weeks, and killed a number of deer, ſeveral bears, and a great many racoons. From the mouth of this river to the falls is about five and twenty miles. On our paſſage up I was not much out from the river, but what I ſaw was good land, and not hilly.

About the falls is thin cheſnut land, which is almoſt the only cheſnut timber I ever ſaw in this country.

While we remained here, I left my pouch with my books in camp, wrapt up in my blanket, and went out to hunt cheſnuts. On my return to camp my books were miſſing. I enquired after them, and aſked the Indians if they knew where they were; they told me that they ſuppoſed the puppies had carried them off. I did not believe them; but thought they were diſpleaſed at my poring over my books, and concluded that they had deſtroyed them, or put them out of my way.

After this I was again out after nuts, and on my return beheld a new erection, which were two white oak ſaplings, that were forked about twelve feet high, and ſtood about fifteen feet apart. They had cut theſe ſaplings at the forks and laid a ſtrong pole acroſs, which appeared in the form of a gallows, and the poſts they had ſhaved very ſmooth and painted in places with vermillion. I could not conceive the uſe of this piece of work, and at length concluded it was a gallows. I thought that I had diſpleaſed them by reading my books, and that they were about putting me to death.—The next morning I obſerved them bringing their bundles to this place and hanging them over the pole, ſo as to preſerve them from being injured by the weather; this removed my fears. They alſo buried their large canoe in the ground, which is the way they took to preſerve this ſort of a canoe in the winter ſeaſon.

As we had at this time no horſes, every one got a pack on his back, and we ſteered an eaſt courſe about twelve miles, and encamped. The next morning we proceeded on the ſame courſe about ten miles to a large creek that empties into Lake Erie, betwixt Caneſadooharie and Cayahaga. Here they made their winter cabbin, in the following form. They cut logs about fifteen feet long, and laid theſe logs upon each other, and drove poſts in the ground at each end to keep them together; the poſts they tied together at the top with bark, and by this means raiſed a wall fifteen feet long, and about four feet high, and in the ſame manner they raiſed another wall oppoſite to this, at about twelve feet diſtance; then they drove forks in the ground in the centre of each end, and laid a ſtrong pole from end to end on theſe forks; and from theſe walls to the poles, they ſet up poles inſtead of rafters, and on theſe they tied ſmall poles in place of laths; and a cover was made of lynn bark which will run even in the winter ſeaſon.

As every tree will not run, they examine the tree firſt, by trying it near the ground, and when they find it will do, they fell the tree and raiſe the bark with the tomahawk, near the top of the tree about five or ſix inches broad, then put the tomahawk handle under this bark, and pull it along down to the butt of the tree; ſo that ſome times one piece of bark will be thirty feet long; this bark they cut at ſuitable lengths in order to cover the hut.

At the end of theſe walls they ſet up ſplit timber, ſo that they had timber all round, excepting a door at each end. At the top, in place of a chimney, they left an open place, and for bedding they laid down the aforeſaid kind of bark, on which they ſpread bear ſkins. From end to end of this hut along the middle there were fires, which the ſquaws made of dry ſplit wood, and the holes or open places that appeared, the ſquaws ſtopped with moſs, which they collected from old logs; and at the door they hung a bear ſkin; and notwithſtanding the winters are hard here, our lodging was much better than what I expected

It was ſome time in December when we finiſhed this winter cabin; but when we had got into this comparatively fine lodging, another difficulty aroſe, we had nothing to eat. While I was travelling with Tecaughretanego, as was before mentioned, and had plenty of fat venison, bears meat, and raccoons, I then thought it was hard living without bread or ſalt; but now I began to conclude, that if I had any thing that would baniſh pinching hunger, and keep ſoul and body together, I would be content.

While the hunters were all out, exerting themſelves to the utmoſt of their ability, the ſquaws and boys (in which claſs I was) were ſcattered out in the bottoms, hunting red-haws, black-haws and hickory-nuts. As it was too late in the year, we did not ſucceed in gathering haws; but we had tolerable ſucceſs in ſcratching up hickory-nuts from under a light ſnow, which we carried with us leſt the hunters ſhould not ſucceed. After our return the hunters came in, who had killed only two ſmall turkeys, which were but little among eight hunters, and thirteen ſquaws, boys, and children; but they were divided with the greateſt equity and juſtice—every one got their equal ſhare.

The next day the hunters turned out again, and killed one deer and three bears.

One of the bears was very large and remarkably fat. The hunters carried in meat ſufficient to give us all a hearty ſupper and breakfaſt.

The ſquaws and all that could carry turned out to bring in meat,—every one had their ſhare aſſigned them, and my load was among the leaſt; yet, not being accuſtomed to carrying in this way, I got exceeding weary, and told them my load was too heavy, I muſt leave part of it and come for it again. They made a halt and only laughed at me, and took part of my load and added it to a young ſquaw's, who had as much before as I carried.

This kind of reproof had a greater tendency to excite me to exert myſelf in carrying without complaining, than if they had whipped me for lazineſs. After this the hunters held a council, and concluded that they muſt have horſes to carry their loads; and that they would go to war even in this inclement ſeaſon, in order to bring in horſes.

Tecaughretanego wiſhed to be one of thoſe who ſhould go to war; but the votes went againſt him, as he was one of our beſt hunters; it was thought neceſſary to leave him at this winter camp to provide for the ſquaws and children. It was agreed upon that Tecaughretanego and three others ſhould ſtay, and hunt, and the other four go to war.

They then began to go through their common ceremony. They ſung their war ſongs, danced their war dances &c. And when they were equipped they went off ſinging their marching ſongs, and firing their guns. Our camp appeared to be rejoicing; but I was grieved to think that ſome innocent perſons would be murdered not thinking of danger.

After the departure of theſe warriors we had hard times; and tho' we were not altogether out of proviſions, we were brought to ſhort allowance. At length Tontileaugo had conſiderable ſucceſs; and we had meat brought into camp ſufficient to laſt ten days. Tontileaugo then took me with him in order to encamp ſome diſtance from this winter cabbin, to try his luck there. We carried no proviſion with us; he ſaid we would leave what was there for the ſquaws and children, and that we could ſhift for ourſelves. We ſteered about a ſouth courſe up the waters of this creek, and encamped about ten or twelve miles from the winter cabbin. As it was ſtill cold weather and a cruſt upon the ſnow, which made a noiſe as we walked and alarmed the deer, we could kill nothing, and conſequently went to ſleep without ſupper. The only chance we had under theſe circumſtances, was to hunt bear holes; as the bears about Chriſtmas ſearch out a winter lodging place, where they lie about three or four months without eating or drinking. This may appear to ſome incredible; but it is now well known to be the caſe, by thoſe who live in the remote weſtern parts of North America.

The next morning early, we proceeded on, and when we found a tree ſcratched by the bears climbing up, and the hole in the tree ſufficiently large for the reception of the bear, we then fell a ſapling or ſmall tree, againſt or near the hole; and it was my buſineſs to climb up and drive out the bear, while Tontileaugo ſtood ready with his gun and bow. We went on in this manner until evening, without ſucceſs; at length we found a large elm ſcratched, and a hole in it about forty feet up; but no tree nigh, ſuitable to lodge againſt the hole. Tontileaugo got a long pole and ſome dry rotten wood, which he tied in bunches, with bark; and as there was a tree that grew near the elm, and extended up near the hole, but leaned the wrong way; ſo that we could not lodge it to advantage, to remedy this inconvenience, he climbed up this tree and carried with him his rotten wood, fire, and pole. The rotten wood he tied to his belt, and to one end of the pole he tied a hook, and a piece of rotten wood which he ſet fire to, as it would retain fire almoſt like ſpunk, and reached this hook from limb to limb as he went up; when he got up, with this pole he put dry wood on fire into the hole; after he put in the fire he heard the bear ſnuff, and he came ſpeeſlily down, took his gun in his hand and waited until the bear would come out; but it was ſome time before it appeared, and when it did appear, he attempted taking ſight with his rifle; but it being then too dark, to ſee the ſights, he ſet it down by a tree, and inſtantly bent his bow, took hold of an arrow, and ſhot the bear a little behind the ſhoulder; I was preparing alſo to ſhoot an arrow, but he called to me to ſtop, there was no occaſion; and with that the bear fell to the ground.

Being very hungry we kindled a fire, opened the bear, took out the liver, and wrapped ſome of the caul fat round, and put it on a wooden ſpit which we ſtuck in the ground by the fire to roaſt, we then ſkinned the bear, got on our kettle, and had both roaſt and boiled, and alſo ſauce to our meat, which appeared to me to be delicate fare. After I was fully ſatisfied I went to ſleep, Tontileaugo awoke me, ſaying, come eat hearty, we have got meat plenty now.

The next morning we cut down a lynn tree, peeled bark and made a ſnug little ſhelter, facing the ſouth eaſt, with a large log betwixt us and the north weſt; we made a good fire before us, and ſcaffolded up our meat at one ſide.—When we had finiſhed our camp we went out to hunt, ſearched two trees for bears, but to no purpoſe. As the ſnow thawed a little in the afternoon Tontileaugo killed a deer, which we carried with us to camp.

The next day we turned out to hunt, and near the camp we found a tree well ſcratched; but the hole was above forty feet high, and no tree that we could lodge againſt the hole; but finding that it was very hollow, we concluded that we would cut down the tree with our tomahawks, which kept us working a conſiderable part of the day. When the tree fell we ran up, Tontileaugo with his gun and bow, and I with my bow ready bent. Tontileaugo ſhot the bear through with his rifle, a little behind the ſhoulders, I alſo ſhot, but too far back; and not being then much accuſtomed to the buſineſs, my arrow penetrated only a few inches thro the ſkin. Having killed an old ſhe bear and three cubs, we hawled her on the ſnow to the camp, and only had time afterwards, to get wood, make a fire, cook &c. before dark.

Early the next morning we went to buſineſs, ſearched ſeveral trees, but found no bears. On our way home we took three raccoons out of a hollow elm, not far from the ground.

We remained here about two weeks, and in this time killed four bears, three deer, ſeveral turkeys, and a number of raccoons. We packed up as much meat as we could carry, and returned to our winter cabin. On our arrival, there was great ly, as they were all in a ſtarving condition,—the three hunters that we had left having killed but very little.—All that could carry a pack repaired to our camp to bring in meat.

Some time in February the four warriors returned, who had taken two ſcalps, and ſix horſes from the frontiers of Pennſylvania. The hunters could then ſcatter out a conſiderable diſtance from the winter cabin, and encamp, kill meat and pack it in upon horſes; ſo that we commonly after this had plenty of proviſion.

In this month we began to make ſugar. As ſome of the elm bark will ſtrip at this ſeaſon, the ſquaws after finding a tree that would do, cut it down, and with a crooked ſtick broad and ſharp at the end, took the bark off the tree, and of this bark, made veſſels in a curious manner, that would hold about two gallons each: they made above one hundred of theſe kind of veſſels. In the ſugar-tree they cut a notch, ſloping down, and at the end of the notch, ſtuck in a tomahawk; in the place where they ſtuck the tomahawk, they drove a long chip, in order to carry the water out from the tree, and under this they ſet their veſſel, to receive it. As ſugar trees were plenty and large here, they ſeldom or never notched a tree that was not two or three feet over. They alſo made bark veſſels for carrying the water, that would hold about four gallons each. They had two braſs kettles, that held about fifteen gallons each, and other ſmaller kettles in which they boiled the water. But as they could not at all times boil away the water as faſt as it was collected, they made veſſels of bark, that would hold about one hundred gallons each, for retaining the water; and tho' the ſugar trees did not run every day, they had always a ſufficient quantity of water to keep them boiling during the whole ſugar ſeaſon.

The way that we commonly uſed our ſugar while encamped, was by putting it in bears fat until the fat was almoſt as ſweet as the ſugar itſelf, and in this we dipped our roaſted veniſon. About this time ſome of the Indian lads and myſelf, were employed in making and attending traps for catching racoons, foxes, wild cats, &c.

As the racoon is a kind of water animal, that frequents the runs, or ſmall water-courſes, almoſt the whole night, we made our traps on the runs, by laying one ſmall ſapling on another, and driving in poſts to keep them from rolling. The upper ſapling we raiſed about eighteen inches, and ſet ſo, that on the racoons touching a ſtring, or ſmall piece of bark, the ſapling would fall and kill it; and leſt the racoon ſhould paſs by, we laid bruſh on both ſides of the run, only leaving the channel open.

The fox traps we made nearly in the ſame manner, at the end of a hollow log, or oppoſite to a hole at the root of a hollow tree, and put veniſon on a ſtick for bait; we had it ſo ſet that when the fox took hold of the meat, the trap fell. While the ſquaws were employed in making ſugar, the boys and men were engaged in hunting and trapping.

About the latter end of March we began to prepare for moving into town, in order to plant corn: the ſquaws were then frying the laſt of their bears fat, and making veſſels to hold it: the veſſels were made of deer ſkins, which were ſkinned by pulling the ſkin off the neck, without ripping. After they had taken off the hair, they gathered it in ſmall plaits round the neck and with a ſtring drew it together like a purſe: in the centre a pin was put, below which they tied a ſtring, and while it was wet they blew it up like a bladder, and let it remain in this manner, until it was dry, when it appeared nearly in the ſhape of a ſugar loaf, but more rounding at the lower end. One of theſe veſſels would hold about four or five gallons; in theſe veſſels it was they carried their bears oil.

When all things were ready we moved back to the falls of Caneſadooharie. In this route the land is chiefly firſt and ſecond rate, but too much meadow ground, in proportion to the upland. The timber is white aſh, elm, black-oak, cherry, buckeye, ſugar-tree, lynn, mulberry, beech, white-oak, hickory, wild apple-tree, red-haw, black-haw, and ſpicewood buſhes. There is in ſome places, ſpots of beech timber, which ſpots may be called third rate land. Buckeye, ſugar-tree and ſpicewood, are common in the woods here. There is in ſome places, large ſwamps too wet for any uſe.

On our arrival at the falls, (as we had brought with us on horſe back, about two hundred weight of ſugar, a large quantity of bears oil, ſkins &c.) the canoe we had buried was not ſufficient to carry all; therefore we were obliged to make another one of elm bark. While we lay here a young Wiandot found my books: on this they collected together; I was a little way from the camp, and ſaw the collection, but did not know what it meant. They called me by my Indian name, which was Scoouwa, repeatedly. I ran to ſee what was the matter, they ſhewed me my books, and ſaid they were glad they had been found, for they knew I was grieved at the loſs of them, and that they now rejoiced with me becauſe they were found. As I could then ſpeak ſome Indian, eſpecially Caughnewaga (for both that and the Wiandot tongue were ſpoken in this camp) I told them that I thanked them for the kindneſs they had always ſhewn to me, and alſo for finding my books. They aſked if the books were damaged? I told them not much. They then ſhewed how they lay, which was in the beſt manner to turn off the water. In a deer ſkin pouch they lay all winter. The print was not much injured, though the binding was.—This was the firſt time that I felt my heart warm towards the Indians. Though they had been exceeding kind to me, I ſtill before deteſted them, on account of the barbarity I beheld after Braddock's defeat.—Neither had I ever before pretended kindneſs, or expreſſed myſelf in a friendly manner; but I began now to excuſe the Indians on account of their want of information.

When we were ready to embark, Tontileaugo would not go to town, but go up the river and take a hunt. He aſked me if I chooſe to go with him? I told him I did. We then got ſome ſugar, bears oil bottled up in a bear's gut, and ſome dry veniſon, which we packed up, and went up Caneſadooharie, about thirty miles, and encamped. At this time I did not know either the day of the week, or the month; but I ſuppoſed it to be about the firſt of April. We had conſiderable ſucceſs in our buſineſs. We alſo found ſome ſtray horſes, or a horſe, mare, and a young colt; and though they had run in the woods all winter, they were in exceeding good order. There is plenty of graſs here all winter, under the ſnow, and horſes accuſtomed to the woods can work it out.—Theſe horſes had run in the woods until they were very wild.

Tontileaugo one night concluded that we muſt run them down. I told him I thought we could not accompliſh it. He ſaid he had run down bears, buffaloes and elks; and in the great plains, with only a ſmall ſnow on the ground, he had run down a deer; and he thought that in one whole day, he could tire, or run down any four footed animal except a wolf. I told him that though a deer was the ſwifteſt animal to run a ſhort diſtance, yet it would tire ſooner than a horſe. He ſaid he would at all events try the experiment. He had heard the Wiandots ſay, that I could run well, and now he would ſee whether I could or not. I told him that I never had run all day, and of courſe was not accuſtomed to that way of running. I never had run with the Wiandots, more than ſeven or eight miles at one time. He ſaid that was nothing, we muſt either catch theſe horſes, or run all day.

In the morning early we left camp, and about ſunriſe we ſtarted after them, ſtripped naked excepting breech-clouts and mockaſons. About ten o'clock I loſt ſight of both Tontileaugo and the horſes, and did not ſee them again until about three o'clock in the afternoon. As the horſes run all day, in about three or four miles ſquare, at length they paſſed where I was, and I fell in cloſe after them. As I then had a long reſt, I endeavored to keep a head of Tontileaugo, and after ſome time I could hear him after me calling chakoh, chakoanaugh, which ſignifies, pull away or do your beſt. We purſued on, and after ſome time Tontileaugo paſſed me, and about an hour before ſundown, we deſpaired of catching theſe horſes and returned to camp where we had left our clothes.

I reminded Tontileaugo of what I had told him; he replied he did not know what horſes could do. They are wonderful ſtrong to run; but withal we made them very tired. Tontileaugo then concluded, he would do as the Indians did with wild horſes, when out at war; which is to ſhoot them through the neck under the mane, and above the bone, which will cauſe them to fall and lie until they can halter them, and then they recover again. This he attempted to do; but as the mare was very wild, he could not get ſufficiently nigh to ſhoot her in the proper place; however he ſhot, the ball paſſed too low, and killed her. As the horſe and colt ſtayed at this place we caught the horſe, and took him and the colt with us to camp.

We ſtayed at this camp about two weeks, and killed a number of bears, racoons, and ſome beavers. We made a canoe of elm bark, and Tontileaugo embarked in it. He arrived at the falls that night; whilſt I, mounted on horſe back, with a bear ſkin ſaddle, and bark ſtirrups, proceeded by land to the falls: I came there the next morning, and we carried our canoe and loading paſt the falls.

The river is very rapid for ſome diſtance above the falls, which are about twelve or fifteen feet nearly perpendicular. This river, called Caneſadooharie, interlocks with the Weſt branch of Muſkingum, runs nearly a north courſe, and empties into the ſouth ſide of Lake Erie, about eighty miles eaſt from Sanduſky, or betwixt Sanduſky and Cayahaga.

On this laſt route the land is nearly the ſame, as that laſt deſcribed, only there is not ſo much ſwampy or wet ground.

We again proceeded towards the lake, I on horſe back, and Tontileaugo by water. Here the land is generally good, but I found ſome difficulty in getting round ſwamps and ponds. When we came to the lake I proceeded along the ſtrand, and Tontileaugo near the ſhore, ſometimes padling and ſometimes polling his canoe along.

After ſome time the wind aroſe, and he went into the mouth of a ſmall creek and encamped. Here we ſtaid ſeveral days on account of high wind, which raiſed the lake in great billows. While we were here Tontileaugo went out to hunt, and when he was gone a Wiandot came to our camp; I gave him a ſhoulder of veniſon which I had by the fire well roaſted, and he received it gladly, told me he was hungry, and thanked me for my kindneſs. When Tontileaugo came home I told him that a Wiandot had been at camp, and that I gave him a ſhoulder of roaſted veniſon: he ſaid that was very well, and I ſuppoſe you gave him alſo ſugar and bears oil, to eat with his veniſon. I told him I did not; as the ſugar and bears oil was down in the canoe I did not go for it. He replied you have behaved just like a Dutchman.* Do you not know that when ſtrangers come to our camp, we ought always to give them the beſt that we have. I acknowledged that I was wrong. He ſaid that he could excuſe this, as I was but young; but I muſt learn to behave like a warrior, and do great things, and never be found in any ſuch little actions.

The lake being again calm,† we proceeded, and arrived ſafe at Sunyendeand, which was a Wiandot town, that lay upon a ſmall creek which empties into the Little Lake below the mouth of Sanduſky.

The town was about eighty rood above the mouth of the creek, on the ſouth ſide of a large plain, on which timber grew, and nothing more but graſs or nettles. In ſome places there were large flats, where nothing but graſs grew, about three feet high when grown, and in other places nothing but nettles, very rank, where the ſoil is extremely rich and looſe—here they planted corn. In this town there were alſo French traders, who purchaſed our ſkins and fur, and we all got new clothes, paint, tobacco, &c.

After I had got my new clothes, and my head done off like a red-headed wood-pecker, I, in company with a number of young Indians, went down to the corn-field, to ſee the ſquaws at work. When we came there, they aſked me to take a hoe, which I did, and hoed for ſome time. The ſquaws applauded me as a good hand at the buſineſs; but when I returned to the town, the old man hearing of what I had done, chid me, and ſaid that I was adopted in the place of a great man, and muſt not hoe corn like a ſquaw. They never had occaſion to reprove me for any thing like this again; as I never was extremely fond of work, I readily complied with their orders.

As the Indians on their return from their winter hunt, bring in with them large quantities of bears' oil, ſugar, dried veniſon, &c. at this time they have plenty, and do not ſpare eating or giving—thus they make way with their proviſion as quick as poſſible. They have no ſuch thing as regular meals, breakfaſt, dinner or ſupper; but if any one, even the town folks, would go to the ſame houſe, ſeveral times in one day, he would be invited to eat of the beſt—and with them it is bad manners to refuſe to eat when it is offered. If they will not eat it is interpreted as a ſymptom of diſpleaſure, or that the perſons refuſing to eat were angry with thoſe who invited them.

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* The Dutch he called Skoharehaugo, which took its derivation from a Dutch ſettlement called Skoharey.

† The lake when calm, appears to be of a ſky blue colour; though when lifted in a veſſel, it is like other clear water.

At this time homony plentifully mixed with bears' oil and ſugar; or dried veniſon, bears oil and ſugar, is what they offer to every one who comes in any time of the day; and ſo they go on until their ſugar, bears oil and veniſon, is all gone, and then they have to eat homony by itſelf, without bread, ſalt or any thing elſe; yet, ſtill they invite every one that comes in, to eat whilſt they have any thing to give. It is thought a ſhame, not to invite people to eat, while they have any thing; but, if they can in truth, only ſay we have got nothing to eat, this is accepted as an honorable apology. All the hunters and warriors continued in town about ſix weeks after we came in: they ſpent this time in painting, going from houſe to houſe, eating, ſmoking and playing at a game reſembling dice, or huſtle-cap. They put a number of plumb-ſtones in a ſmall bowl; one ſide of each ſtone is black, and the other white; they then ſhake or huſtle the bowl, calling, *hits, hits, hits, honeſey, honeſey, rago, rago*; which ſignifies calling for white or black, or what they wiſh to turn up; they then turn the bowl, and count the whites and blacks. Some were beating their kind of drum, and ſinging; others were employed in playing on a ſort of flute, made of hollow cane; and others playing on the jews-harp. Some part of this time was alſo taken up in attending the council houſe, where the chiefs, and as many others as choſe, attended; and at night they were frequently employed in ſinging and dancing. Towards the laſt of this time, which was in June 1756, they were all engaged in preparing to go to war againſt the frontiers of Virginia: when they were equipped, they went through their ceremonies, ſung their war ſongs, &c. They all marched off, from fifteen to ſixty years of age; and ſome boys only twelve years old, were equipped with their bows and arrows, and went to war; ſo that none were left in town but ſquaws and children, except myſelf, one very old man, and another about fifty years of age, who was lame.

The Indians were then in great hopes that they would drive all the Virginians over the lake, which is all the name they know for the ſea. They had ſome cauſe for this hope, becauſe, at this time, the Americans were altogether unacquainted with war of any kind, and conſequently very unfit to ſtand their hand with ſuch ſubtil enemies as the Indians were. The two old Indians aſked me if I did not think that the Indians and French would ſubdue all America, except New-England, which they ſaid they had tried in old times. I told them I thought not: they ſaid they had already drove them all out of the mountains, and had chiefly laid waſte the great valley, betwixt the North and South mountain, from Potowmack to James River, which is a conſiderable part of the beſt land in Virginia, Maryland and Pennſylvania, and that the white people appeared to them like fools; they could neither guard againſt ſurpriſe, run or fight. Theſe they ſaid were their reaſons for ſaying that they would ſubdue the whites. They aſked me to offer my reaſons for my opinion, and told me to ſpeak my mind freely. I told them that the white people to the Eaſt were very numerous, like the trees, and though they appeared to them to be fools, as they were not acquainted with their way of war, yet they were not fools; therefore after ſome time they will learn your mode of war, and turn upon you, or at leaſt defend themſelves. I found that the old men themſelves did not believe they could conquer America, yet they were willing to propagate the idea, in order to encourage the young men to go to war.

When the warriors left this town we had neither meat, ſugar, or bears oil, left. All that we had then to live on was corn pounded into coarſe meal or ſmall homony—this they boiled in water, which appeared like well thickened ſoup, without ſalt or any thing elſe. For ſome time, we had plenty of this kind of homony; at length we were brought to very ſhort allowance, and as the warriors did not return as ſoon as they expected, we were in a ſtarving condition, and but one gun in the town, and very little ammunition. The old lame Wiandot concluded that he would go a hunting in a canoe, and take me with him, and try to kill deer in the water, as it was then watering time. We went up Sanduſky a few miles, then turned up a creek, and encamped. We had lights prepared, as we were to hunt in the night, and alſo a piece of bark and ſome buſhes ſet up in the canoe, in order to conceal ourſelves from the deer. A little boy that was with us, held the light, I worked the canoe, and the old man, who had his gun loaded with large ſhot, when we came near the deer, fired, and in this manner killed three deer, in part of one night. We went to our fire, ate heartily, and in the morning returned to town, in order to relieve the hungry and diſtreſſed.

When we came to town, the children were crying bitterly on account of pinching hunger. We delivered what we had taken, and though it was but little among ſo many, it was divided according to the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice. We immediately ſet out for another hunt, but before we returned a part of the warriors had come in, and brought with them on horſe-back a quantity of meat. Theſe warriors had divided into different parties, and all ſtruck at different places in Auguſta county. They brought in with them a conſiderable number of ſcalps, priſoners, horſes, and other plunder. One of the parties brought in with them, one Arthur Campbell, that is now Col. Campbell, who lives on Holſton River, near the Royal-Oak. As the Wiandots at Sunyendeand, and thoſe at Detroit were connected, Mr. Campbell was taken to Detroit; but he remained ſome time with me in this town: his company was very agreeable, and I was ſorry when he left me. During his ſtay at Sunyendeand he borrowed my Bible, and made ſome pertinent remarks on what he had read. One paſſage was where it is ſaid, "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." He ſaid we ought to be reſigned to the will of Providence, as we were now bearing the yoke, in our youth. Mr. Campbell appeared to be then about ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age.

There was a number of priſoners brought in by theſe parties and when they were to run the gauntlet, I went and told them how they were to act. One John Savage, was brought in, a middle aged man, or about forty years old. He was to run the gauntlet. I told him what he had to do; and after this I fell into one of the ranks with the Indians, ſhouting and yelling like them; and as they were not very ſevere on him, as he paſſed me, I hit him with a piece of a pumpkin—which pleaſed the Indians much, but hurt my feelings.

About the time that theſe warriors came in, the green corn was beginning to be of uſe; ſo that we had either green corn or veniſon, and ſometimes both—which was comparatively, high living. When we could have plenty of green corn, or roaſting ears, the hunters became lazy, and ſpent their time as already mentioned, in ſinging and dancing &c. They appeared to be fulfilling the ſcriptures beyond thoſe who profeſs to believe them, in that of taking no thought of to-morrow; and alſo in living in love, peace and friendſhip together, without diſputes. In this reſpect, they ſhame thoſe who profeſs Chriſtianity.

In this manner we lived, until October, then the geeſe, ſwans, ducks, cranes, &c. came from the north, and alighted on this little Lake, without number or innumerable. Sunyendeand is a remarkable place for fiſh, in the ſpring, and fowl both in the fall and ſpring.

As our hunters were now tired with indolence, and fond of their own kind of exerciſe, they all turned out to fowling, and in this could ſcarce miſs of ſucceſs; ſo that we had now plenty of homony and the beſt of fowls; and ſometimes as a rarity we had a little bread, which was made of Indian corn meal, pounded in a hominy-block, mixed with boiled beans, and baked in cakes under the aſhes.

This, with us was called good living, though not equal to our fat, roaſted and boiled veniſon, when we went to the woods in the fall; or bears meat and beaver in the winter; or ſugar, bears oil, and dry veniſon in the ſpring.

Some time in October, another adopted brother, older than Tontileaugo, came to pay us a viſit at Sunyendeand, and he aſked me to take a hunt with him on Cayahaga. As they always uſed me as a free man, and gave me the liberty of chooſing, I told him that I was attached to Tontileaugo—had never ſeen him before, and therefore, aſked ſometime to conſider of this. He told me that the party he was going with would not be along, or at the mouth of this little lake, in leſs than ſix days, and I could in this time be acquainted with him, and judge for myſelf. I conſulted with Tontileaugo on this occaſion, and he told me that our old brother Tecaughretanego, (which was his name) was a chief, and a better man than he was; and if I went with him I might expect to be well uſed, but he ſaid I might do as I pleaſed; and if I ſtaid he would uſe me as he had done. I told him that he had acted in every reſpect, as a brother to me; yet I was much pleaſed with my old brother's conduct and converſation; and as he was going to a part of the country I had never ſeen in, I wiſhed to go with him—he ſaid that he was perfectly willing.

I then went with Tecaughretanego, to the mouth of the little lake, where he met with the company he intended going with, which was compoſed of, Caughnewagas, and Ottawas.—Here I was introduced to a Caughnewaga ſiſter, and others I had never before ſeen. My ſiſter's name was Mary, which they pronounced *Mally*. I aſked Tecaughretanego how it came that ſhe had an Engliſh name; he ſaid that he did not know that it was an Engliſh name; but it was the name the prieſt gave her when ſhe was baptized, which he ſaid was the name of the mother of Jeſus. He ſaid there were a great many of the Caughnewagas and Wiandots, that were a kind of half Roman-Catholics; but as for himſelf, he ſaid, that the prieſt and him could not agree; as they held notions that contradicted both ſenſe and reaſon, and had the aſſurance to tell him, that the book of God, taught them theſe fooliſh abſurdities: but he could not believe the great and good ſpirit ever taught them any ſuch nonſenſe: and therefore he concluded that the Indians' old religion was better than this new way of worſhiping God.

The Ottawas have a very uſeful kind of tents which they carry with them, made of flags, plaited and ſtitched together in a very artful manner, ſo as to turn rain, or wind well,—each mat is made fifteen feet long, and about five feet broad. In order to erect this kind of tent, they cut a number of long ſtrait poles, which they drive in the ground, in form of a circle, leaning inwards; then they ſpread the matts on theſe poles,—beginning at the bottom and extending up, leaving only a hole in the top uncovered—and this hole anſwers the place of a chimney. They make a fire of dry ſplit wood, in the middle, and ſpread down bark mats and ſkins for bedding, on which they ſleep in a crooked poſture, all round the fire, as the length of their beds will not admit of ſtretching themſelves. In place of a door they lift up one end of a mat and creep in, and let the mat fall down behind them.

These tents are warm and dry, and tolerable clear of ſmoke. Their lumber they keep under birch-bark canoes, which they carry out and turn up for a ſhelter, where they keep every thing from the rain. Nothing is in the tents but themſelves and their bedding.

This company had four birch canoes and four tents. We were kindly received, and they gave us plenty of homony, and wild fowl, boiled and roaſted. As the geeſe, ducks, ſwans, &c. here are well grain-fed, they were remarkably fat eſpecially the green necked ducks.

The wild fowl here, feed upon a kind of wild rice, that grows ſpontaneouſly in the ſhallow water, or wet places along the ſides or in the corners of the lakes.

As the wind was high and we could not proceed on our voyage, we remained here ſeveral days, and killed abundance of wild fowl, and a number of racoons.

When a company of Indians are moving together on the lake, as it is at this time of the year often dangerous ſailing, the old men hold a council; and when they agree to embark, every one is engaged immediately in making ready, without offering one word againſt the meaſure, though the lake may be boiſterous and horrid. One morning tho' the wind appeared to me to be as high as in days paſt, and the billows raging, yet the call was given *yohoh-yohoh*, which was quickly anſwered by all —*ooh-ooh* which ſignifies agreed. We were all inſtantly engaged in preparing to ſtart, and had conſiderable difficulties in embarking.

As ſoon as we got into our canoes we fell to paddling with all our might, making out from the ſhore. Though theſe ſort of canoes ride waves beyond what could be expected, yet the water ſeveral times daſhed into them. When we got out about half a mile from ſhore, we hoiſted ſail, and as it was nearly a weſt wind, we then ſeemed to ride the waves with eaſe, and went on at a rapid rate. We then all laid down our paddles, excepting one that landed, and there was no water daſhed into our canoes, until we came near the ſhore again. We ſailed about ſixty miles that day, and encamped ſome time before night.

The next day we again embarked and went on very well for ſome time; but the lake being boiſterous, and the wind not fair, we were obliged to make to ſhore, which we accompliſhed with hard work and ſome difficulty in landing.—The next morning a council was held by the old men.

As we had this day to paſs by a long precipice of rocks, on the ſhore about nine miles, which rendered it impoſſible for us to land, though the wind was high and the lake rough; yet, as it was fair, we were all ordered to embark. We wrought ourſelves out from the ſhore and hoiſted ſail (what we uſed in place of ſail cloth, were our tent mats, which anſwered the place very well) and went on for ſome time with a fair wind, until we were oppoſite to the precipice, and then it turned towards the ſhore, and we began to fear we ſhould be caſt upon the rocks. Two of the canoes were conſiderably farther out from the rocks, than the canoe I was in. Thoſe who were fartheſt out in the lake did not let down their ſails until they had paſſed the precipice; but as we were nearer the rock, we were obliged to lower our ſails, and paddle with all our might. With much difficulty we cleared ourſelves of the rock, and landed. As the other canoes had landed before us, there were immediately runners ſent off to ſee if we were all ſafely landed.

This night the wind fell, and the next morning the lake was tolerably calm, and we embarked without difficulty, and paddled along near the ſhore, until we came to the mouth of Cayahaga, which empties into Lake Erie on the ſouth ſide, betwixt Caneſadooharie, and Preſq'Iſle.

We turned up Cayahaga and encamped—where we ſtaid and hunted for ſeveral days; and ſo we kept moving and hunting until we came to the forks of Cayahaga.

This is a very gentle river, and but few riffles, or ſwift running places, from the mouth to the forks. Deer here were tolerably plenty, large and fat; but bear and other game ſcarce. The upland is hilly, and principally ſecond and third rate land. The timber chiefly black-oak, white-oak, hickory, dogwood, &c. The bottoms are rich and large, and the timber is walnut, locuſt, mulberry, ſugar-tree, red-haw, black-haw, wild-apple-trees, &c. The Weſt Branch of this river interlocks with the Eaſt Branch of Muſkingum; and the Eaſt Branch with the Big Beaver creek, that empties into the Ohio about thirty miles below Pittſburgh.

From the forks of Cayahaga to the Eaſt Branch of Muſkingum, there is a carrying place, where the Indians carry their canoes &c. from the waters of Lake Erie, into the waters of the Ohio.

From the forks I went over with ſome hunters, to the Eaſt Branch of Muſkingum, where they killed ſeveral deer, a number of beavers, and returned heavy laden, with ſkins and meat, which we carried on our backs, as we had no horſes.

The land here is chiefly ſecond and third rate, and the timber chiefly oak and hickory. A little above the forks, on the Eaſt Branch of Cayahaga, are conſiderable rapids, very rocky, for ſome diſtance; but no perpendicular falls.

About the firſt of December, 1756, we were preparing for leaving the river: we buried our canoes, and as uſual hung up our ſkins, and every one had a pack to carry: the ſquaws alſo packed up their tents, which they carried in large rolls, that extended up above their heads; and though a great bulk, yet not heavy. We ſteered about a ſouth eaſt courſe and could not march over ten miles per day. At night we lodged in our flag tents, which when erected, were nearly in the ſhape of a ſugar loaf, and about fifteen feet diameter at the ground.

In this manner we proceeded about forty miles, and wintered in theſe tents, on the waters of Beaver creek, near a little lake or large pond, which is about two miles long, and one broad, and a remarkable place for beaver.

It is a received opinion among the Indians, that the geeſe turn to beavers, and the ſnakes to racoons; and though Tecaughretanego, who was a wiſe man, was not fully perſuaded that this was true; yet he ſeemed in ſome meaſure to be carried away with this whimſical notion. He ſaid that this pond had been always a plentiful place of beaver. Though he ſaid he knew them to be frequently all killed, (as he thought;) yet the next winter they would be as plenty as ever. And as the beaver was an animal that did not travel by land, and there being no water communication, to, or from this pond—how could ſuch a number of beavers get there year after year? But as this pond was alſo a conſiderable place for geeſe, when they came in the fall from the north, and alighted in this pond, they turned beavers, all but the feet, which remained nearly the ſame.

I ſaid, that though there was no water communication, in, or out of this pond; yet it appeared that it was fed by ſprings, as it was always clear and never ſtagnated: and as a very large ſpring roſe about a mile below this pond, it was likely that this ſpring came from this pond. In the fall when this ſpring is comparatively low there would be air under ground ſufficient for the beavers to breathe in, with their heads above water, for they cannot live long under water, and ſo they might have a ſubterraneous paſſage by water into this pond.—Tecaughretanego, granted that it might be ſo.

About the ſides of this pond there grew great abundance of cranberries, which the Indians gathered up on the ice, when the pond was frozen over. Theſe berries were about as large as rifle bullets—of a bright red color—an agreeable ſour, though rather too ſour of themſelves; but when mixed with ſugar, had a very agreeable taſte.

In converſation with Tecaughretanego, I happened to be talking of the beavers' catching fiſh. He aſked me why I thought that the beaver caught fiſh? I told him that I had read of the beaver making dams for the conveniency of fiſhing. He laughed, and made game of me and my book. He ſaid the man that wrote that book knew nothing about the beaver. The beaver never did eat fleſh of any kind; but lived on the bark of trees, roots, and other vegetables.

In order to know certainly how this was, when we killed a beaver I carefully examined the inteſtines but found no appearance of fiſh; I afterwards made an experiment on a pet beaver which we had, and found that it would neither eat fiſh or fleſh; therefore I acknowledged that the book I had read was wrong.

I aſked him if the beaver was an amphibious animal, or if it could live under water? He ſaid that the beaver was a kind of ſubterraneous water animal, that lives in or near the water; but they were no more amphibious than the ducks and geeſe were—which was conſtantly proven to be the [illegible] as all the beavers that are caught in ſteel traps are [illegible], provided the trap be heavy enough to keep them under water. As the beaver does not eat fiſh, I enquired of Tecaughretanego why the beaver made ſuch large dams? He ſaid they were of uſe to them in various reſpects—both for their ſafety and food. For their ſafety, as by raiſing the water over the mouths of their holes, or ſubterraneous lodging places, they could not be eaſily found: and as the beaver feeds chiefly on the bark of trees, by raiſing the water over the banks, they can cut down ſaplings for bark to feed upon without going out much upon the land: and when they are obliged to go out on land for this food they frequently are caught by the wolves. As the beaver can run upon land but little faſter than a water tortoiſe, and is no fighting animal, if they are any diſtance from the water they become an eaſy prey to their enemies.

I aſked Tecaughretanego, what was the uſe of the beaver's ſtones, or glands, to them;—as the ſhe beaver has two pair, which is commonly called the oil ſtones, and the bark ſtones? He ſaid that as the beavers are the dumbeſt of all animals, and ſcarcely ever make any noiſe; and as they were working creatures, they made uſe of this ſmell in order to work in concert. If an old beaver was to come on the bank and rub his breech upon the ground, and raiſe a perfume, the others will collect from different places and go to work: this is alſo of uſe to them in travelling, that they may thereby ſearch out and find their company. Cunning hunters finding this out, have made uſe of it againſt the beaver, in order to catch them. What is the bait which you ſee them make uſe of, but a compound of the oil and bark ſtones? By this perfume, which is only a falſe ſignal they decoy them to the trap.

Near this pond, beaver was the principal game. Before the the waters froze up, we caught a great many with wooden and ſteel traps: but after that, we hunted the beaver on the ice. Some places here the beavers build large houſes to live in; and in other places they have ſubterraneous lodgings in the banks. Where they lodge in the ground we have no chance of hunting them on the ice; but where they have houſes, we go with malls and handſpikes, and break all the hollow ice, to prevent them from getting their heads above the water under it. Then we break a hole in the houſe and they make their eſcape into the water; but as they cannot live long under water, they are obliged to go to ſome of theſe broken places to breathe, and the Indians commonly put in their hands, catch them by the hind leg, hawl them on the ice, and tomahawk them. Sometimes they ſhoot them in the head, when they raiſe it above the water. I aſked the Indians if they were not afraid to catch the beavers with their hands? they ſaid no: they were not much of a biting creature; yet if they would catch them by the fore foot they would bite.

I went out with Tecaughretanego, and ſome others a beaver hunting: but we did not ſucceed, and on our return we ſaw where ſeveral racoons had paſſed, while the ſnow was ſoft; tho' there was now a cruſt upon it, we all made a halt looking at the racoon tracks. As they ſaw a tree with a hole in it they told me to go and ſee if they had gone in thereat; and if they had to halloo, and they would come and take them out. When I went to that tree, I found they had gone paſt; but I ſaw another the way they had went, and proceeded to examine that, and found they had gone up it. I then began to halloo, but could have no anſwer.

As it began to ſnow and blow moſt violently, I returned and proceeded after my company, and for ſome time could ſee their tracks; but the old ſnow being only about three inches deep, had a track upon it, the preſent driving ſnow ſoon filled up the tracks. As I had only a bow, arrows and tomahawk with me, and no way to ſtrike fire, I appeared to be in a diſmal ſituation—and as the air was dark with ſnow, I had little more proſpect of ſteering my courſe, than I would in the night. At length I came to a hollow tree, with a hole at one ſide that I could go in at. I went in, and found that it was a dry place, and the hollow about three feet diameter, and high enough for me to ſtand in. I found that there was alſo a conſiderable quantity of ſoft, dry rotten wood, around this hollow: I therefore concluded that I would lodge here, and that I would go to work, and ſtop up the door of my houſe. I ſtripped off my blanket, (which was all the clothes that I had, excepting a breech-clout, leggins and mockaſons,) and with my tomahawk, fell to chopping at the top of a fallen tree that lay near, and carried wood and ſet it up on end againſt the door, until I had it three or four feet thick, all round, excepting a hole I had left to creep in at. I had a block prepared that I could haul after me, to ſtop this hole: and before I went in I put in a number of ſmall ſticks, that I might more effectually ſtop it on the inſide. When I went in, I took my tomahawk and cut down all the dry rotten wood I could get, and beat it ſmall. With it I made a bed like a gooſe-neſt or hog-bed, and with the ſmall ſticks ſtopped every hole, until my houſe was almoſt dark. I ſtripped off my mockaſons, and danced in the centre of my bed for about half an hour, in order to warm myſelf. In this time my feet and whole body were agreeably warmed. The ſnow, in the mean while, had ſtopped all the holes, ſo that my houſe was as dark as a dungeon; though I knew it could not yet be dark out of doors. I then coiled myſelf up in my blanket, lay down in my little round bed, and had a tolerable nights lodging. When I awoke, all was dark—not the leaſt glimmering of light was to be ſeen. Immediately I recollected that I was not to expect light in this new habitation, as there was neither door nor window in it. As I could hear the ſtorm raging, and did not ſuffer much cold, as I was then ſituated, I concluded I would ſtay in my neſt until I was certain it was day. When I had reaſon to conclude that it ſurely was day, I aroſe and put on my mockaſons, which I had laid under my head to keep from freezing. I then endeavored to find the door, and had to do all by the ſenſe of feeling, which took me ſome time. At length I found the block, but it being heavy, and a large quantity of ſnow having fallen on it, at the firſt attempt I did not move it. I then felt terrified—among all the hardſhips I had ſuſtained, I never knew before, what it was to be thus deprived of light. This, with the other circumſtances attending it, appeared gloomy.

I went ſtraightway to bed again, wrapped my blanket round me, and lay and muſed awhile, and then prayed to Almighty God to direct and protect me, as he had done heretofore. I once again attempted to move away the block, which proved ſucceſsful: it moved about nine inches.—With this a conſiderable quantity of ſnow fell in from above, and I immediately received light: ſo that I found a very great ſnow had fallen, above what I had ever ſeen in one night. I then knew why I could not eaſily move the block, and I was ſo rejoiced at obtaining the light, that all my other difficulties ſeemed to vaniſh. I then turned into my cell, and returned God thanks for having once more received the light of Heaven. At length I belted my blanket about me, got my tomahawk, bow and arrows, and went out of my den.

I was now in tolerable high ſpirits, tho' the ſnow had fallen above three feet deep, in addition to what was on the ground before; and the only imperfect guide I had, in order to ſteer my courſe to camp, was the trees; as the moſs generally grows on the north-weſt ſide of them, if they are ſtraight. I proceeded on, wading through the ſnow, and about twelve o'clock (as it appeared afterwards, from that time to night, for it was yet cloudy,) I came upon the creek that our camp was on, about half a mile below the camp; and when I came in ſight of the camp, I found that there was great joy, by the ſhouts and yelling of the boys, &c.

When I arrived, they all came round me, and received me gladly; but at this time no queſtions were aſked, and I was taken into a tent, where they gave me plenty of fat beaver meat, and then aſked me to ſmoke. When I had done, Tecaughretanego deſired me to walk out to a fire they had made. I went out, and they all collected round me, both men, women and boys. Tecaughretanego aſked me to give them a particular account of what had happened from the time they left me yeſterday, until now. I told them the whole of the ſtory, and they never interrupted me; but when I made a ſtop, the intervals were filled with loud acclamations of joy. As I could not, at this time, talk Ottawa or Jibewa well, (which is nearly the ſame) I delivered my ſtory in Caughnewaga. As my ſiſter Molly's huſband was a Jibewa, and could underſtand Caughnewaga, he acted as interpreter, and delivered my ſtory to the Jibewas and Ottawas, which they received with pleaſure. When all this was done, Tecaughretanego made a ſpeech to me in the following manner:

"*Brother*,

"You ſee we have prepared ſnow-ſhoes to go after you, and were about ready to go when you appeared; yet, as you had not been accuſtomed to hardſhips in your country, to the eaſt, we never expected to ſee you alive. Now, we are glad to ſee you, in various reſpects; we are glad to ſee you on your own account; and we are glad to ſee the proſpect of your filling the place of a great man, in whoſe room you were adopted. We do not blame you for what has happened, we blame ourſelves; becauſe, we did not think of this driving ſnow filling up the tracks, until after we came to camp.

Brother,

Your conduct on this occaſion hath pleaſed us much: You have given us an evidence of your fortitude, ſkill and reſolution; and we hope you will always go on to do great actions, as it is only great actions that can make a great man."

I told my brother Tecaughretanego, that I thanked them for their care of me, and for the kindneſs I always received. I told him that I always wiſhed to do great actions, and hoped I never would do any thing to diſhonor any of thoſe with whom I was connected. I likewiſe told my Jibewa brother-in-law to tell his people that I alſo thanked them for their care and kindneſs.

The next morning ſome of the hunters went out on ſnow-ſhoes, killed ſeveral deer, and hauled ſome of them into camp upon the ſnow. They fixed their carrying ſtrings, (which are broad in the middle, and ſmall at each end,) in the fore feet and noſe of the deer, and laid the broad part of it on their heads or about their ſhoulders, and pulled it along; and when it is moving, will not ſink in the ſnow much deeper than a ſnow-ſhoe; and when taken with the grain of the hair, ſlips along very eaſily.

The ſnow-ſhoes are made like a hoop-net, and wrought with buck-ſkin thongs. Each ſhoe is about two feet and an half long, and about eighteen inches broad, before, and ſmall behind, with croſs bars, in order to fix or tie them to their feet. After the ſnow had lay a few days, the Indians tomahawked the deer, by purſuing them in this manner.

About two weeks after this, there came a warm rain, and took away the chief part of the ſnow, and broke up the ice; then we engaged in making wooden traps to catch beavers, as we had but few ſteel traps. Theſe traps are made nearly in the ſame manner as the raccoon traps already deſcribed.

One day as I was looking after my traps, I got benighted, by beaver ponds intercepting my way to camp; and as I had neglected to take fire-works with me, and the weather very cold, I could find no ſuitable lodging place, therefore the only expedient I could think of to keep myſelf from freezing, was exerciſe. I danced and hallooed the whole night with all my night, and the next day came to camp. Though I ſuffered much more this time than the other night I lay out, yet the Indians were not ſo much concerned, as they thought I had fire works with me; but when they knew how it was, they did not blame me. They ſaid that old hunters were frequently involved in this place, as the beaver dams were one above another on every creek and run, ſo that it is hard to find a fording place. They applauded me for my fortitude, and ſaid as they had now plenty of beaver-ſkins, they would purchaſe me a new gun at Detroit, as we were to go there the next ſpring; and then if I ſhould chance to be loſt in dark weather, I could make fire, kill proviſion, and return to camp when the ſun ſhined. By being bewildered on the waters of Muſkingum, I loſt repute, and was reduced to the bow and arrow; and by lying out two nights here, I regained my credit.

After ſome time the waters all froze again, and then, as formerly, we hunted beavers on the ice. Though beaver meat, without ſalt or bread, was the chief of our food this winter, yet we had always plenty, and I was well contented with my diet, as it appeared delicious fare, after the way we had lived the winter before.

Some time in February, we ſcaffolded up our fur and ſkins, and moved about ten miles in queſt of a ſugar camp, or a ſuitable place to make ſugar, and encamped in a large bottom, on the head waters of Big Beaver creek. We had ſome difficulty in moving, as we had a blind Caughnewaga boy about 15 years of age to lead; and as this country is very bruſhy, we frequently had him to carry.—We had alſo my Jibewa brother-in-law's father with us, who was thought by the Indians to be a great conjuror—his name was Manetohcoa—this old man was ſo decrepit, that we had to carry him this route upon a bier—and all our baggage to pack on our backs.

Shortly after we came to this place the ſquaws began to make ſugar. We had no large kettles with us this year, and they made the froſt, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the place of fire, in making ſugar. Their large bark veſſels for holding the ſtock-water, they made broad and ſhallow; and as the weather is very cold here, it frequently freezes at night in ſugar time; and the ice they break and caſt out of the veſſels. I aſked them if they were not throwing away the ſugar? they ſaid no; it was water they were caſting away, ſugar did not freeze, and there was ſcarcely any in that ice. They ſaid I might try the experiment, and boil ſome of it, and ſee what I would get. I never did try it; but I obſerved that after ſeveral times freezing, the water that remained in the veſſel, changed its color and became brown and very ſweet.

About the time we were done making ſugar the ſnow went off the ground; and one night a ſquaw raiſed an alarm. She ſaid ſhe ſaw two men with guns in their hands, upon the bank on the other ſide of the creek, ſpying our tents—they were ſuppoſed to be Johnſon's Mohawks. On this the ſquaws were ordered to ſlip quietly out, ſome diſtance into the buſhes; and all who had either guns or bows were to ſquat in the buſhes near the tents; and if the enemy ruſhed up, we were to give them the firſt fire, and let the ſquaws have an opportunity of eſcaping. I got down beſide Tecaughretanego, and he whiſpered to me not to be afraid, for he would ſpeak to the Mohawks, and as they ſpoke the ſame tongue that we did, they would not hurt the Caughnewagas, or me; but they would kill all the Jibewas and Ottawas that they could, and take us along with them. This news pleaſed me well, and I heartily wiſhed for the approach of the Mohawks.

Before we withdrew from the tents they had carried Manetohcoa to the fire and gave him his conjuring tools; which were dyed feathers, the bone of the ſhoulder blade of a wild cat, tobacco &c. and while we were in the buſhes, Manetohcoa was in a tent at the fire, conjuring away to the utmoſt of his ability. At length he called aloud for us all to come in, which was quickly obeyed. When we came in, he told us that after he had gone through the whole of his ceremony, and expected to ſee a number of Mohawks on the flat bone when it was warmed at the fire, the pictures of two wolves only appeared. He ſaid tho there were no Mohawks about, we muſt not be angry with the ſquaw for giving a falſe alarm; as ſhe had occaſion to go out and happened to ſee the wolves, though it was moon light, yet ſhe got afraid, and ſhe conceited it was Indians, with guns in their hands, ſo he ſaid we might all go to ſleep for there was no danger—and accordingly we did.

The next morning we went to the place, and found wolf tracks, and where they had ſcratched with their feet like dogs; but there was no ſign of mockaſon tracks. If there is any ſuch thing as a wizzard, I think Manetohcoa was as likely to be one, as any man, as he was a profeſſed worſhipper of the devil.—But let him be a conjuror or not, I am perſuaded that the Indians believed what he told them upon this occaſion, as well as if it had come from an infallible oracle; or they would not, after ſuch an alarm as this, go all to ſleep in an unconcerned manner. This appeared to me the moſt like witchcraft of any thing I beheld while I was with them. Though I ſcrutinized their proceedings in buſineſs of this kind, yet I generally found that their pretended witchcraft, was either art or miſtaken no-
tions, [illegible]

ſpy the enemy's motions carefully, and when they find that they can have conſiderable advantage, and the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs, then the old men pretend to conjure, or to tell what the event will be,—and this they do in a figurative manner, which will bear ſomething of a different interpretation, which generally comes to paſs nearly as they foretold; therefore the young warriors generally believed theſe old conjurors, which had a tendency to animate, and excite them to puſh on with vigor.

Some time in March 1757 we began to move back to the forks of Cayahaga, which was about forty or fifty miles; and as we had no horſes, we had all our baggage and ſeveral hundred weight of beaver ſkins, and ſome deer and bear ſkins—all to pack on our backs. The method we took to accompliſh this was by making ſhort day's journies. In the morning we would move on with as much as we were able to carry, about five miles, and encamp; and then run back for more. We commonly made three ſuch trips in the day. When we came to the great pond, we ſtaid there one day to reſt ourſelves and to kill ducks and geeſe.

While we remained here I went in company with a young Caughnewaga, who was about ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, Chinnohete by name, in order to gather cranberries. As he was gathering berries at ſome diſtance from me, three Jibewa ſquaws crept up undiſcovered and made at him ſpeedily, but he nimbly eſcaped and came to me apparently terrified. I aſked him what he was afraid of? he replied did you not ſee thoſe ſquaws? I told him I did, and they appeared to be in a very good humour. I aſked him wherefore then he was afraid of them? He ſaid the Jibewa ſquaws were very bad women, and had a very ugly cuſtom among them. I aſked him what that cuſtom was? he ſaid that when two or three of them could catch a young lad, that was betwixt a man and a boy, out by himſelf, if they could overpower him they would ſtrip him by force in order to ſee whether he was coming on to be a man or not. He ſaid that was what they intended when they crawled up, and ran ſo violently at him, but ſaid he, I am very glad that I ſo narrowly eſcaped. I then agreed with Chinnohete in condemning this as a bad cuſtom, and an exceeding immodeſt action for young women to be guilty of.

From our ſugar camp on the head waters of Big Beaver creek, to this place is not hilly, and ſome places the woods are tolerably clear; but in moſt places exceeding bruſhy. The land here is chiefly ſecond and third rate. The timber on the upland is white-oak, black-oak, hickory and cheſnut; there is alſo in ſome places walnut up land, and plenty of good water. The bottoms here are generally large and good.

We again proceeded on from the pond to the forks of Cayahaga, at the rate of about five miles per day.

The land on this route is not very hilly, it is well watered, and in many places ill timbered, generally bruſhy, and chiefly ſecond and third rate land, intermixed with good bottoms.

When we came to the forks, we found that the ſkins we had ſcaffolded were all ſafe. Though this was a public place, and Indians frequently paſſing, and our ſkins hanging up in view, yet there was none ſtolen; and it is ſeldom that Indians do ſteal any thing from one another; and they ſay they never did, until the white people came among them, and learned ſome of them to lie, cheat and ſteal,—but be that as it may, they never did curſe or ſwear, until the whites learned them; ſome think their language will not admit of it, but I am not of that opinion; if I was ſo diſpoſed, I could find language to curſe or ſwear, in the Indian tongue.

I remember that Tecaughretanego, when ſomething diſpleaſed him, ſaid, God damn it.—I aſked him if he knew what he then ſaid? he ſaid he did; and mentioned one of their degrading expreſſions, which he ſuppoſed to be the meaning or ſomething like the meaning of what he had ſaid. I told him that it did not bear the leaſt reſemblance to it; that what he ſaid was calling upon the great ſpirit to puniſh the object he was diſpleaſed with. He ſtood for ſometime amazed, and then ſaid, if this be the meaning of theſe words, what ſort of people are the whites? when the traders were among us theſe words ſeemed to be intermixed with all their diſcourſe. He told me to reconſider what I had ſaid, for he thought I muſt be miſtaken in my definition; if I was not miſtaken, he ſaid, the traders applied theſe words not only wickedly, but often times very fooliſhly and contrary to ſenſe or reaſon. He ſaid he remembered once of a trader's accidentally breaking his gun lock, and on that occaſion calling out aloud God damn it—ſurely ſaid he the gun lock was not an object worthy of puniſhment for Owaneeyo, or the Great Spirit: he alſo obſerved the traders often uſed this expreſſion when they were in a good humour and not diſpleaſed with any thing.—I acknowledged that the traders uſed this expreſſion very often, in a moſt irrational, inconſiſtent, and impious manner; yet I ſtill aſſerted that I had given the true meaning of theſe words.—He replied, if ſo, the traders are as bad as Oonaſahroona, or the under ground inhabitants, which is the name they give the devils; as they entertain a notion that their place of reſidence is under the earth.

We took up our birch-bark canoes which we had buried, and found that they were not damaged by the winter; but they not being ſufficient to carry all that we now had, we cheſnut bark canoes, as elm bark was not to be found at this place.

We all embarked, and had a very agreeable paſſage down the Cayahaga, and along the ſouth ſide of Lake Erie, until we paſſed the mouth of Sanduſky; then the wind aroſe, and we put in at the mouth of the Miami of the Lake, at Cedar Point, where we remained ſeveral days, and killed a number of Turkeys, geeſe, ducks and ſwans. The wind being fair, and the lake not extremely rough, we again embarked, hoiſted up ſails, and arrived ſafe at the Wiandot town, nearly oppoſite to Fort Detroit, on the north ſide of the river. Here we found a number of French traders, every one very willing to deal with us for our beaver.

We bought ourſelves fine clothes, ammunition, paint, tobacco, &c. and according to promiſe, they purchaſed me a new gun; yet we had parted with only about one third of our beaver. At length a trader came to town with French Brandy; We purchaſed a keg of it, and held a council about who was to get drunk, and who was to keep ſober. I was invited to get drunk, but I refuſed the propoſal—then they told me that I muſt be one of thoſe who were to take care of the drunken people. I did not like this; but of two evils I choſe that which I thought was the leaſt—and fell in with thoſe who were to conceal the arms, and keep every dangerous weapon we could, out of their way, and endeavor, if poſſible to keep the drinking club from killing each other, which was a very hard taſk. Several times we hazarded our own lives, and got ourſelves hurt, in preventing them from ſlaying each other. Before they had finiſhed this keg, near one third of the town was introduced to this drinking club; they could not pay their part, as they had already diſpoſed of all their ſkins; but that made no odds, all were welcome to drink.

When they were done with this keg, they applied to the traders, and procured a kettle full of brandy at a time, which they divided out with a large wooden ſpoon,—and ſo they went on and never quit while they had a ſingle beaver ſkin.

When the trader had got all our beaver, he moved off to the Ottawa town, about a mile above the Wiandot town.

When the brandy was gone, and the drinking club ſober, they appeared much dejected. Some of them were crippled, others badly wounded, a number of their fine new ſhirts torn, and ſeveral blankets were burned:—a number of ſquaws were alſo in this club, and neglected their corn planting.

We could now hear the effects of the brandy in the Ottawa town. They were ſinging and yelling in the moſt hideous manner, out, both night and day; but their frolic ended worſe than ours; five Ottawas were killed and a great many wounded.

After this a number of young Indians were getting their ears cut, and they urged me to have mine cut likewiſe; but they did not attempt to compel me, though they endeavoured to perſuade me. The principal arguments they uſed were its being a very great ornament, and alſo the common faſhion.—The former I did not believe, and the latter I could not deny. The way they performed this operation was by cutting the fleſhy part of the circle of the ear cloſe to the griſtle quite through. When this was done they wrapt rags round this fleſhy part until it was entirely healed; then they hung lead to it and ſtretched it to a wonderful length: when it was ſufficiently ſtretched, they wrapt the fleſhy part round with braſs wire, which formed it into a ſemicircle about four inches diameter.

Many of the young men were now exerciſing themſelves in a game reſembling foot ball; though they commonly ſtruck the ball with a crooked ſtick, made for that purpoſe; alſo a game ſomething like this, wherein they uſed a wooden ball, about three inches diameter, and the inſtrument they moved it with was a ſtrong ſtaff about five feet long, with a hoop net on the end of it, large enough to contain the ball. Before they begin the play, they lay off about half a mile diſtance in a clear plain, and the oppoſite parties all attend at the centre, where a diſintereſted perſon caſts up the ball then the oppoſite parties all contend for it. If any one gets it into his net, he runs with it the way he wiſhes it to go, and they all purſue him. If one of the oppoſite party overtakes the perſon with the ball, he gives the ſtaff a ſtroke which cauſes the ball to fly out of the net; then they have another debate for it; and if the one that gets it can outrun all the oppoſite party, and can carry it quite out, or over the line at the end, the game is won; but this ſeldom happens. When any one is running away with the ball, and is like to be overtaken, he commonly throws it, and with this inſtrument can caſt it fifty or ſixty yards. Sometimes when the ball is almoſt at the one end, matters will take a ſudden turn, and the oppoſite party may quickly carry it out at the other end. Often times they will work a long while back and forward before they can get the ball over the line, or win the game.

About the firſt of June 1757, the warriors were preparing to go to war, in the Wiandot, Pottowatomy, and Ottawa towns; alſo a great many Jibewas came down from the upper lakes; and after ſinging their war ſongs and going through their common ceremonies, they marched off againſt the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland and Pennſylvania.

[illegible] in [illegible] manner, singing the [illegible] [illegible], &c.

On the [illegible] side of the river St. Lawrence, opposite to Fort Detroit, there is an island, which the Indians call the Long Island, which they say is [illegible] one thousand miles long and [illegible] above one hundred miles broad. They further say that the great river [illegible] comes down by [illegible] and [illegible] into the main branch of St. Lawrence, above [illegible] St. Lawrence [illegible] and [illegible].

Opposite to Detroit, and below it, was originally a prairie, and laid off in lots [illegible] rods [illegible], and a great length back; each lot is divided into two fields, which they cultivate year about. The principal grain that the French raised in their fields was spring wheat and peas.

They built all their houses on the front of their lots on the river side; and as the banks of the river are very low, some of [illegible] are not above three or four feet above the surface of the water; yet they are in no danger of being disturbed by [illegible], as the river seldom rises above eighteen inches, [illegible] of the river St. Lawrence [illegible].

[illegible] and stables are [illegible] on the front of their lots; at a distance it appears like a continued row of [illegible] on each side of the river for a long way. These villages, the [illegible] river, and the [illegible] being all in view at [illegible], [illegible] and delightful prospect.

The [illegible] the first week; and [illegible] it comes from the northward it is very unwholesome.

The land here is [illegible] rate, and comparatively speaking, a small part is first or third rate; tho about four or five miles south of Detroit, there is a small portion that is [illegible] which French call [illegible], which produces [illegible] of [illegible] bushes.

There is plenty of [illegible] here, and a great [illegible] that are [illegible] with water. The timber is [illegible] black [illegible], chestnut, [illegible] oak, hickory and [illegible] walnut.

About the middle of June the Indians were almost all gone to war, from sixteen to forty years. Tecaughretanego remained in town with me. Though he had formerly, when they were at war with the southern nations, been a great warrior, and an eminent counsellor; and I think as clear and as able a reasoner upon any subject that he had an opportunity of being acquainted with, [illegible]; yet he had all along been against [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] had [illegible] is [illegible]. The [illegible] of the English and French had quarrelled about [illegible] their own [illegible] it is not our business to intermeddle [illegible] they [illegible]

Before the warriors returned we were very scarce of provision; and tho' we did not commonly steal from one another; yet we stole during this time any thing that we could eat from the French, under the notion that it was just for us to do so, because they supported their soldiers; and our squaws, old men and children were suffering on the account of the war, as our hunters were all gone.

Some time in August the warriors returned, and brought in with them a great many scalps, prisoners, horses and plunder; and the common report among the young warriors, was, that they would intirely subdue Tulhasaga, that is the English, or it might be literally rendered the Morning Light inhabitants.

About the first of November a number of families were preparing to go on their winter hunt, and all agreed to cross the lake together. We encamped at the mouth of the river the first night, and a council was held, whether we would cross thro' by the three islands, or coast it round the lake. These islands lie in a line across the lake, and are just in sight of each other. Some of the Wiandots or Ottawas frequently make their winter hunt on these islands. Tho' excepting wild fowl and fish, there is scarcely any game here but racoons, which are amazingly plenty, and exceeding large and fat; as they feed upon the wild rice, which grows in abundance in wet places round these islands. It is said that each hunter in one winter will catch one thousand racoons.

It is a received opinion among the Indians, that the snakes and racoons are transmutable; and that a great many of the snakes turn racoons every fall, and racoons snakes every spring. This notion is founded on observations made on the snakes and racoons in this island.

As the racoons here lodge in the rocks, the trappers make their wooden traps at the mouth of the holes; and as they go daily to look at their traps, in the winter season, they commonly find them filled with racoons; but in the spring or when the frost is out of the ground, they say, they then find their traps filled with large rattle snakes. And therefore conclude that the racoons are transformed. They also say that the reason why they are so remarkably plenty in the winter, is, every fall the snakes turn racoons again.

I told them that tho' I had never landed on any of these islands, yet from the unanimous accounts I had received, I believed that both snakes and racoons were plenty there; but no doubt ey all remained there both ſummer and winter, only the ſnakes were not to be ſeen in the winter; yet I did not believe that hey were innumerable.

These iſlands are but ſeldom viſited; becauſe early in the ring and late in the fall it is dangerous ſailing in their bark anoes; and in the ſummer they are ſo infeſted with various inds of ſerpents, (but chiefly rattle-ſnakes,) that it is dangerous landing.

I ſhall now quit this digreſſion, and return to the reſult of he council at the mouth of the river. We concluded to go t round the lake, and in two days we came to the mouth of the iami of the lake, and landed on cedar point, where we remained ſeveral days. Here we held a council, and concluded e would take a driving hunt in concert, and in partnerſhip.

The river in this place is about a mile broad, and as it and he lake forms a kind of neck, which terminates in a point, all he hunters (which were fifty-three) went up the river, and we ſcattered ourſelves from the river to the lake. When we irſt began to move we were not in ſight of each other, but as we all raiſed the yell, we could move regularly together by the noiſe. At length we came in ſight of each other, and appeared to be marching in good order; before we came to the point, both the ſquaws and boys in the canoes were ſcattered up the river, and along the lake, to prevent the deer from making their eſcape by water. As we advanced near the point, the guns began to crack ſlowly; and after ſome time the firing was like a little engagement. The ſquaws and boys were buſy tomahawking the deer in the water, and we ſhooting them down on the land. We killed in all about thirty deer; tho' a great many made their eſcape by water.

We had now great feaſting and rejoicing, as we had plenty of homony, veniſon, and wild fowl. The geeſe at this time appeared to be preparing to move ſouthward.—It might be aſked what is meant by the geeſe preparing to move? The Indians repreſent them as holding a great council at this time concerning the weather in order to conclude upon a day, that they may all at or near one time leave the Northern Lakes, and wing their way to the ſouthern bays. When matters are brought to a concluſion and the time appointed that they are to take wing, then they ſay, a great number of expreſſes are ſent off, in order to let the different tribes know the reſult of this council, that they may be all in readineſs to move at the time appointed. As there is a great commotion among the geeſe at this time, it would appear by their actions, that ſuch a council had been held. Certain it is, that they are led by inſtinct to act in concert, and to move off regularly after their leaders.

Here our company ſeparated. The chief part of them went up the Miami river, that empties into Lake Erie, at Cedar point, whilſt we proceeded on our journey in company with Tecaughretanego, Tontileaugo, and two families of the Wiandots.

As cold weather was now approaching, we began to feel the doleful effects of extravagantly and fooliſhly ſpending the large quantity of beaver we had taken in our laſt winter's hunt. We were all nearly in the ſame circumſtances — ſcarcely one had a ſhirt to his back; but each of us had an old blanket which we belted round us in the day, and ſlept in at night, with a deer or bear ſkin under us for our bed.

When we came to to the falls of Sanduſky, we buried our birch bark canoes as uſual, at a large burying place for that purpoſe, a little below the falls. At this place the river falls about eight feet over a rock, but not perpendicular. With much difficulty we puſhed up our wooden canoes; ſome of us went up the river, and the reſt by land with the horſes, until we came to the great meadows or prairies, that lie between Sanduſky and Scioto.

When we came to this place we met with ſome Ottawa hunters, and agreed with them to take, what they call a ring hunt, in partnerſhip. We waited until we expected rain was near falling to extinguiſh the fire, and then we kindled a large circle in the prairie. At this time, or before the bucks began to run a great number of deer lay concealed in the graſs, in the day, and moved about in the night; but as the fire burned in towards the centre of the circle, the deer fled before the fire: the Indians were ſcattered alſo at ſome diſtance before the fire, and ſhot them down every opportunity, which was very frequent, eſpecially as the circle became ſmall. When we came to divide the deer, there were above ten to each hunter, which were all killed in a few hours. The rain did not come on that night to put out the outſide circle of the fire, and as the wind aroſe, it extended thro the whole prairie which was about fifty miles in length, and in ſome places near twenty in breadth. This put an end to our ring hunting this ſeaſon, and was in other reſpects an injury to us in the hunting buſineſs; ſo that upon the whole we received more harm than benefit by our rapid hunting frolic. We then moved from the north end of the glades, and encamped at the carrying place.

This place is in the plains between a creek that empties into Sanduſky, and one that runs into Scioto: and at the time of high water, or in the ſpring ſeaſon, there is but about one half mile of portage, and that very level, and clear of rocks, timber or ſtones; ſo that with a little digging there may be water carriage the whole way from Scioto to Lake Erie.

From the mouth of Sanduſky to the falls is chiefly firſt rate land, lying flat or level, intermixed with large bodies of clear meadows, where the graſs is exceeding rank, and in many places five or ſix feet high. The timber is oak, hickory, walnut, cherry, black-aſh, elm, ſugar-tree, buckeye, locuſt and beech. In ſome places there is wet timber land—the timber in theſe places is chiefly water-aſh, ſycamore, or button-wood.

From the falls to the prairies, the land lies well to the ſun, it is neither too flat nor too hilly—and chiefly firſt rate. The timber nearly the ſame as below the falls, excepting the water-aſh.—There is alſo here, ſome plats of beech land, that appears to be ſecond rate, as it frequently produces ſpice-wood. The prairie appears to be a tolerable fertile ſoil, tho' in many places too wet for cultivation; yet I apprehend it would produce timber, were it only kept from fire.

The Indians are of the opinion that the ſquirrels plant all the timber; as they bury a number of nuts for food, and only one at a place. When a ſquirrel is killed the various kinds of nuts thus buried will grow.

I have obſerved that when theſe prairies have only eſcaped the fire for one year, near where a ſingle tree ſtood, there was a young growth of timber ſuppoſed to be planted by the ſquirrels; but when the prairies were again burned, all this young growth was immediately conſumed; as the fire rages in the graſs, to ſuch a pitch, that numbers of racoons are thereby burned to death.

On the weſt ſide of the prairie, or between that and Scioto, there is a large body of firſt rate land—the timber, walnut, locuſt, ſugar-tree, buckeye, cherry, aſh, elm, mulberry, plumb-trees, ſpicewood, black-haw, red-haw, oak and hickory.

About the time the bucks quit running, Tontileaugo his wife and children, Tecaughretanego, his ſon Nungany and myſelf left the Wyandot camps at the carrying place, and croſſed the Scioto river at the ſouth end of the glades, and proceeded on about a ſouth-weſt courſe to a large creek called Ollentangy, which I believe interlocks with the waters of the Miami, and empties into Scioto on the eaſt ſide thereof. From the ſouth end of the prairie to Ollentangy, there is a large quantity of beech land, intermixed with firſt rate land. Here we made our winter hut, and had conſiderable ſucceſs in hunting.

After ſome time one of Tontileaugo's ſtep-ſons, (a lad about eight years of age) offended him, and he gave the boy a moderate whipping, which much diſpleaſed his Wyandot wife. She acknowledged that the boy was guilty of a fault, but thought that he ought to have been ducked, which is their uſual mode of chaſtiſement. She ſaid ſhe would not bear to have her ſon whipping a ſervant is to us—and for this ſhe ſlipped off, when Tontileaugo went out to hunt, ſhe got her two horſes and all her effects, (as in this country the huſband and wife have ſeparate intereſts) and moved back to the Wyandot camp that we had left.

When Tontileaugo returned, he was much diſtreſſed on hearing of his wife's elopement, and ſaid that he would never go after her were it not that he was afraid that ſhe would get bewildered, and that his children that ſhe had taken with her, might ſuffer. Tontileaugo went after his wife, and when they met they made up the quarrel, and he never returned; but left Tecaughretanego and his ſon (a boy about ten years of age) and myſelf, who remained here in our hut all winter.

Tecaughretanego who had been a firſt-rate warrior, ſtateſman and hunter; and though he was now near ſixty years of age, he was yet equal to the common run of hunters, but ſubject to the rheumatiſm, which deprived him of the uſe of his legs.

Shortly after Tontileaugo left us, Tecaughretanego became lame, and could ſcarcely walk out of our hut for two months. I had conſiderable ſucceſs in hunting and trapping. Though Tecaughretanego endured much pain and miſery, yet he bore it with wonderful patience, and would often endeavor to entertain me with cheerful converſation. Sometimes he would applaud me for my diligence, ſkill and activity—and at other times he would take great care in giving me inſtructions concerning the hunting and trapping buſineſs. He would alſo tell me that if I failed of ſucceſs, we would ſuffer very much, as we were about forty miles from any one living, that we knew of; yet he would not intimate that he apprehended we were in any danger, but ſtill ſuppoſed that I was fully adequate to the taſk.

Tontileaugo left us a little before Chriſtmas, and from that until ſome time in February, we had always plenty of bear meat, veniſon, &c. During this time I killed much more than we could uſe, but having no horſes to carry in what I killed, I left part of it in the woods. In February there came a ſnow, with a cruſt, which made a great noiſe when walking on it, and frightened away the deer; and as bear and beaver were ſcarce here, we got entirely out of proviſion. After I had hunted two days without eating any thing, and had very ſhort allowance for ſome days before, I returned late in the evening, faint and weary. When I came into our hut, Tecaughretanego aſked what ſucceſs? I told him not any. He aſked me if I was not very hungry? I replied that the keen appetite ſeemed to be in ſome meaſure removed, but I was both faint and weary. He commanded Nungany his little ſon, to bring me ſomething to [illegible], and he brought me a kettle with some bones and broth—after eating a few mouthfuls my appetite violently increased, and I thought the victuals had a most agreeable relish, though it was only fox and wild-cat bones, which lay about the camp, which the ravens and turkey-buzzards had picked—these Nunganey had collected and boiled, until the sinews that remained on the bones would strip off. I speedily finished my allowance, such as it was, and when I had ended my sweet morsel, Tecaughretanego asked me how I felt. I told him that I was much refreshed. He then handed me his pipe and pouch, and told me to take a smoke. I did so. He then said he had something of importance to tell me, if I was now composed and ready to hear it. I told him that I was ready to hear him. He said the reason why he deferred his speech till now, was because few men are in a right humor to hear good talk, when they are extremely hungry, as they are then generally fretful and discomposed; but as you appear now to enjoy calmness and serenity of mind, I will now communicate to you the thoughts of my heart, and those things that I know to be true.

"*Brother*,

"As you have lived with the white people, you have not had the same advantage of knowing that the great being above feeds his people, and gives them their meat in due season, as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provisions, and yet are wonderfully supplied, and that so frequently that it is evidently by the hand of the great Owaneeyo[*] that doth this: whereas the white people have commonly large stocks of tame cattle, that they can kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain, and therefore have not the same opportunity of seeing and knowing that they are supported by the ruler of Heaven and Earth.

"*Brother*,

"I know that you are now afraid that we will all perish with hunger, but you have no just reason to fear this.

"*Brother*,

"I have been young, but am now old—I have been frequently under the like circumstances that we now are, and that some time or other in almost every year of my life; yet I have hitherto been supported, and my wants supplied in time of need.

"*Brother*,

"Owaneeyo some times suffers us to be in want, in order to teach us our dependence upon him, and to let us know that we are to love and serve him: and likewise to know the worth of the favors that we receive, and to make us more thankful.

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[*] This is the name of God in their tongue, and [illegible]

[illegible] and be assured that you will be supplied with food, and that just as the [illegible] and you must continue diligently in [illegible] afterwards go to sleep, and rise early in the morning, and [illegible] every [illegible] like [illegible] [illegible] I then set [illegible] family for [illegible] miles, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the whole of the [illegible] [illegible]

I then, [illegible] as far as I could, [illegible] when [illegible] ten or twelve miles from our hut, I came upon [illegible] which [illegible] of them as they were passing through a small [illegible] and with my [illegible] which I lay in wait, and killed a very large cow. I immediately [illegible] her [illegible] head and [illegible] the [illegible]. When [illegible] for my old [illegible] I could carry [illegible] home [illegible]

I scarcely thought on the old man's [illegible] almost distracted with hunger, but on my return was much affected [illegible] my [illegible] in attempting to run off and leave the venerable old man and little boy to perish with hunger. I also considered [illegible] had [illegible] in our [illegible] daily [illegible] I thought also of that [illegible] which [illegible] of the [illegible] disposition of [illegible] which was the only [illegible] I had for my [illegible] ly, in attempting to leave them in the most deplorable situation.

As [illegible] I [illegible] and [illegible] The [illegible] for my [illegible] I [illegible] make [illegible] and [illegible] the boy [illegible] as the coals, for himself—which he did, but ate it almost raw, as I had done. I immediately hung on the kettle with some water, and cut the beef in thin slices, and put them in:—when it had boiled awhile, I proposed taking it off the fire, but the old man replied, "let it be done enough." This he said in as patient and unconcerned a manner, as if he had not wanted one single meal. He commanded Nunganey to eat no more beef at that time, lest he might hurt himself; but told him to sit down, and after some time he might sup some broth—this command he reluctantly obeyed.

When we were all refreshed, Tecaughretanego delivered a speech upon the necessity and pleasure of receiving the necessary supports of life with thankfulness, knowing that Owaneeyo is the great giver. Such speeches from an Indian, may be thought by those who are unacquainted with them, altogether incredible; but when we reflect on the Indian war, we may readily conclude that they are not an ignorant or stupid sort of people, or they would not have been such fatal enemies. When they came into our country they outwitted us—and when we sent armies into their country, they outgeneralled, and beat us with inferior force. Let us also take into consideration that Tecaughretanego was no common person, but was among the Indians, as Socrates in the ancient Heathen world; and it may be, equal to him—if not in wisdom and learning, yet, perhaps in patience and fortitude. Notwithstanding Tecaughretanego's uncommon natural abilities, yet in the sequel of this history you will see the deficiency of the light of nature, unaided by revelation, in this truly great man.

The next morning Tecaughretanego desired me to go back and bring another load of buffaloe beef: As I proceeded to do so, about five miles from our hut I found a bear tree. As a sapling grew near the tree, and reached near the hole that the bear went in at, I got dry dozed or rotten wood, that would catch, and hold fire almost as well as spunk. This wood I tied up in bunches, fixed them on my back, and then climbed up the sapling, and with a pole, I put them touched with fire, into the hole, and then came down and took my gun in my hand. After some time the bear came out, and I killed and skinned it, packed up a load of the meat, (after securing the remainder from the wolves) and returned home before night. On my return my old brother and his son were much rejoiced at my success. After this we had plenty of provision.

We remained here until some time in April 1758. At this time Tecaughretanego had recovered so, that he could walk about. We made a bark canoe, embarked, and went down Ol- [illegible]

During the whole of this ſcene I ſat by Tecaughretanego, and as he went through it with the greateſt ſolemnity, I was ſeriouſly affected with his prayers. I remained duly compoſed until he came to the burning of the tobacco; and as I knew that he was a great lover of it, and ſaw him caſt the laſt of it into the fire, it excited in me a kind of merriment, and I inſenſibly ſmiled. Tecaughretanego obſerved me laughing, which diſpleaſed him, and occaſioned him to addreſs me in the following manner.

"*Brother*,

"I have ſomewhat to ſay to you, and I hope you will not be offended when I tell you of your faults. You know that when you were reading your books in town, I would not let the boys or any one diſturb you; but now when I was praying, I ſaw you laughing. I do not think that you look upon praying as a fooliſh thing;—I believe you pray yourſelf. But perhaps you may think my mode, or manner of prayer fooliſh; if ſo, you ought in a friendly manner to inſtruct me, and not make ſport of ſacred things."

I acknowledged my error, and on this he handed me his pipe to ſmoke, in token of friendſhip and reconciliation; though at that time he had nothing to ſmoke, but red-willow bark. I told him ſomething of the method of reconciliation with an offended God, as revealed in my Bible, which I had then in poſſeſſion. He ſaid that he liked my ſtory better than that of the French prieſts, but he thought that he was now too old to begin to learn a new religion, therefore he ſhould continue to worſhip God in the way that he had been taught, and that if ſalvation or future happineſs was to be had in his way of worſhip, he expected he would obtain it, and if it was inconſiſtent with the honor of the great ſpirit to accept of him in his own way of worſhip, he hoped that Owaneeyo would accept of him in the way I had mentioned, or in ſome other way, though he might now be ignorant of the channel through which favor or mercy might be conveyed. He ſaid that he believed that Owaneeyo would hear and help every one that ſincerely waited upon him.

Here we may ſee how far the light of nature could go; perhaps we ſee it here almoſt in its higheſt extent. Notwithſtanding the juſt views that this great man entertained of Providence, yet we now ſee him (though he acknowledged his guilt) expecting to appeaſe the Deity, and procure his favor, by burning a little tobacco. We may obſerve that all Heathen nations, as far as we can find out either by tradition or the light of Nature, agree with Revelation in this, that ſacrifice is neceſſary, or that ſome kind of atonement is to be made is able to remove guilt, and reconcile them to God. This, accompanied with numberleſs other witneſſes, is ſufficient evidence of the rationality—the truth of the Scriptures.

A few days after Tecaughretanego had gone through his ceremonies, and finiſhed his prayers, the rain came and raiſed the creek a ſufficient height, ſo that we paſſed in ſafety down to Sciota, and proceeded up to the carrying place. Let us now deſcribe the land on this route, from our winter hut, and down Ollentangy to the Sciota, and up it to the carrying place.

About our winter cabbin is chiefly firſt and ſecond rate land. A conſiderable way up Ollentangy on the ſouth-weſt ſide thereof, or betwixt it and the Miami, there is a very large prairie, and from this prairie down Ollentangy to Sciota, is generally firſt rate land. The timber is walnut, ſugar-tree, aſh, buckeye, locuſt, wild-cherry and ſpice-wood, intermixed with ſome oak and beech. From the mouth of Ollentangy on the eaſt ſide of Sciota, up to the carrying place, there is a large body of firſt and ſecond rate land, and tolerably well watered. The timber is aſh, ſugar-tree, walnut, locuſt, oak and beech. Up near the carrying place, the land is a little hilly, but the ſoil good.

We proceeded from this place down Sanduſky, and in our paſſage we killed four bears, and a number of turkeys. Tecaughretanego appeared now fully perſuaded that all this came in anſwer to his prayers—and who can ſay with any degree of certainty that it was not ſo?

When we came to the little lake at the mouth of Sanduſky we called at a Wiandot town that was then there, called Sunyendeand. Here we diverted ourſelves ſeveral days, by catching rock-fiſh in a ſmall creek, the name of which is alſo Sunyendeand, which ſignifies Rock-fiſh. They fiſhed in the night, with lights, and ſtruck the fiſh with gigs or ſpears. The rock-fiſh here, when they begin firſt to run up the creek to ſpawn, are exceeding fat, and ſufficient to fry themſelves. The firſt night we ſcarcely caught fiſh enough for preſent uſe, for all that was in the town.

The next morning I met with a priſoner at this place, by the name of Thompſon, who had been taken from Virginia: he told me if the Indians would only quit diſturbing the fiſh for one night, he could catch more fiſh than the whole town could make uſe of. I told Mr. Thompſon that if he was certain he could do this, that I would uſe my influence with the Indians, to let the fiſh alone for one night. I applied to the chiefs, who agreed to my propoſal, and ſaid they were anxious to ſee what the Great Knife (as they called the Virginian) could do. Mr. Thompſon, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other priſoner, ſet to work, and made a hoop net of Elm bark; they then cut down a tree acroſs the creek, and ſtuck in ſtakes at the lower ſide of it, to prevent the fiſh from paſſing up, leaving only a gap at the one ſide of the creek;—here he ſat with his net, and when he felt the fiſh touch the net he drew it up, and frequently would haul out two or three rock fiſh that would weigh about five or ſix pounds each. He continued at this until he had hawled out about a waggon load, and then left the gap open, in order to let them paſs up, for they could not go far, on account of the ſhallow water. Before day Mr. Thompſon ſhut it up, to prevent them from paſſing down, in order to let the Indians have ſome diverſion in killing them in daylight.

When the news of the fiſh came to town, the Indians all collected, and with ſurpriſe beheld the large heap of fiſh, and applauded the ingenuity of the Virginian. When they ſaw the number of them that were confined in the water above the tree, the young Indians ran back to the town, and in a ſhort time returned with their ſpears, gigs, bows and arrows, &c. and were the chief of that day engaged in killing rock-fiſh, inſomuch that we had more than we could uſe or preſerve. As we had no ſalt, or any way to keep them, they lay upon the banks, and after ſome time great numbers of turkey-buzzards and eagles collected together and devoured them.

Shortly after this we left Sunyendeand, and in three days arrived at Detroit, where we remained this ſummer.

Some time in May we heard that General Forbes, with ſeven thouſand men was preparing to carry on a campaign againſt Fort DuQueſne, which then ſtood near where Fort Pitt was afterwards erected. Upon receiving this news a number of runners were ſent off by the French commander at Detroit, to urge the different tribes of Indian warriors to repair to Fort DuQueſne.

Some time in July 1758, the Ottowas, Jibewas, Potowatomies and Wiandots rendezvouſed at Detroit, and marched off to Fort DuQueſne, to prepare for the encounter of General Forbes. The common report was, that they would ſerve him as they did General Braddock, and obtain much plunder. From this time, until fall, we had frequent accounts of Forbes's army, by Indian runners that were ſent out to watch their motion. They ſpied them frequently from the mountains ever after they left Fort Loudon. Notwithſtanding their vigilance, colonel Grant with his Highlanders ſtole a march upon them, and in the night took poſſeſſion of a hill about eighty rod from Fort DuQueſne;—this hill is on that account called Grant's hill to this day. The French and Indians knew not that Grant and his men were there until they beat the drum and played upon the bag-pipes, juſt at day-light. They then flew to arms, and the Indians ran up under covert of the banks of Allegheny and Monongahela, for ſome diſtance, and then ſallied out from the banks of the rivers, and took poſſeſſion of the hill above Grant; and as he was on the point of it in ſight of the fort, they immediately ſurrounded him, and as he had his Highlanders in ranks, and very cloſe order, and the Indians ſcattered, and concealed behind trees, they defeated him with the loſs only of a few warriors:—moſt of the Highlanders were killed or taken priſoners.

After this defeat the Indians held a council, but were divided in their opinions. Some ſaid that general Forbes would now turn back, and go home the way that he came, as Dunbar had done when General Braddock was defeated: others ſuppoſed he would come on. The French urged the Indians to ſtay and ſee the event:—but as it was hard for the Indians to be abſent from their ſquaws and children, at this ſeaſon of the year, a great many of them returned home to their hunting. After this, the remainder of the Indians, ſome French regulars, and a number of Canadians, marched off in queſt of General Forbes. They met his army near Fort Ligonier, and attacked them, but were fruſtrated in their deſign. They ſaid that Forbes's men were beginning to learn the art of war, and that there were a great number of American riflemen along with the red-coats, who ſcattered out, took trees, and were good marks-men; therefore they found they could not accompliſh their deſign, and were obliged to retreat. When they returned from the battle to Fort DuQueſne, the Indians concluded that they would go to their hunting. The French endeavored to perſuade them to ſtay and try another battle. The Indians ſaid if it was only the red-coats they had to do with, they could ſoon ſubdue them, but they could not withſtand *Aſhalecoa*, or the Great Knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians. They then returned home to their hunting, and the French evacuated the fort, which General Forbes came and took poſſeſſion of without further oppoſition, late in the year 1758, and at this time began to build Fort Pitt.

When Tecaughretanego had heard the particulars of Grant's defeat, he ſaid that he could not well account for his contradictory and inconſiſtent conduct. He ſaid as the art of war conſiſts in ambuſhing and ſurpriſing our enemies, and in preventing them from ambuſhing and ſurpriſing us; Grant, in the firſt place, acted like a wiſe and experienced officer, in artfully approaching in the night without being diſcovered; but when he came to the place, and the Indians were lying aſleep outſide of the fort, between him and the Allegheny river, in place of ſlipping up quietly and falling upon them with their [illegible] broad ſwords, they beat the drums and played upon the bagpipes. He ſaid he could account for this inconſiſtent conduct no other way than by ſuppoſing that he had made too free with ſpirituous liquors during the night, and became intoxicated about day-light. But to return:

This year we hunted up Sanduſky, and down Sciota, and took nearly the ſame route that we had done the laſt hunting ſeaſon. We had conſiderable ſucceſs, and returned to Detroit ſome time in April 1759.

Shortly after this, Tecaughretanego, his ſon Nungany and myſelf, went from Detroit (in an elm bark canoe) to Caughnewaga, a very ancient Indian town, about nine miles above Montreal, where I remained until about the firſt of July. I then heard of a French ſhip at Montreal that had Engliſh priſoners on board, in order to carry them over ſea, and exchange them. I went privately off from the Indians, and got alſo on board; but as general Wolfe had ſtopped the River St. Lawrence, we were all ſent to priſon in Montreal, where I remained four months. Some time in November we were all ſent off from this place to Crown Point, and exchanged.

Early in the year 1760, I came home to Conococheague, and found that my people could never aſcertain whether I was killed or taken, until my return. They received me with great joy, but were ſurpriſed to ſee me ſo much like an Indian, both in my gait and geſture.

Upon enquiry, I found that my ſweetheart was married a few days before I arrived. My feelings I muſt leave on this occaſion, for thoſe of my readers to judge, who have felt the pangs of diſappointed love, as it is impoſſible now for me to deſcribe the emotion of ſoul I felt at that time.

Now there was peace with the Indians which laſted until the year 1763. Sometime in May, this year, I married, and about that time the Indians again commenced hoſtilities, and were buſily engaged in killing and ſcalping the frontier inhabitants in various parts of Pennſylvania. The whole Conococheague Valley, from the North to the South Mountain, had been almoſt entirely evacuated during Braddock's war. This ſtate was then a Quaker government, and at the firſt of this war the frontiers received no aſſiſtance from the State. As the people were now beginning to live at home again, they thought hard to be drove away a ſecond time, and were determined, if poſſible, to make a ſtand: therefore they raiſed as much money by collections and ſubſcriptions, as would pay a company of riflemen for ſeveral months. The ſubſcribers met and elected a committee to manage the buſineſs. The committee appointed me captain of this company of rangers, and gave me the appointment of my ſubalterns. I choſe two of the moſt active young men that I could find, who had alſo been long in captivity with the Indians. As we enliſted our men, we dreſſed them uniformly in the Indian manner, with breech-clouts, leggins, mockeſons and green ſhrouds, which we wore in the ſame manner that the Indians do, and nearly as the Highlanders wear their plaids. In place of hats we wore red handkerchiefs, and painted our faces red and black, like Indian warriors. I taught them the Indian diſcipline, as I knew of no other at that time, which would anſwer the purpoſe much better than Britiſh. We ſucceeded beyond expectation in defending the frontiers, and were extolled by our employers. Near the concluſion of this expedition, I accepted of an enſign's commiſſion in the regular ſervice, under King George, in what was then called the Pennſylvania line. Upon my application, my lieutenant ſucceeded me in command, the reſt of the time they were to ſerve. In the fall (the ſame year) I went on the Suſquehannah campaign, againſt the Indians, under the command of General Armſtrong. In this route we burnt the Delaware and Monſey towns, on the Weſt Branch of the Suſquehannah, and deſtroyed all their corn.

In the year 1764, I received a lieutenant's commiſſion, and went out on General Bouquet's campaign againſt the Indians on the Muſkingum. Here we brought them to terms, and promiſed to be at peace with them, upon condition that they would give up all our people that they had then in captivity among them. They then delivered unto us three hundred of the priſoners, and ſaid that they could not collect them all at this time, as it was now late in the year, and they were far ſcattered; but they promiſed that they would bring them all into Fort Pitt early next ſpring, and as ſecurity that they would do this, they delivered to us ſix of their chiefs, as hoſtages. Upon this we ſettled a ceſſation of arms for ſix months, and promiſed upon their fulfilling the aforeſaid condition, to make with them a permanent peace.

A little below Fort Pitt the hoſtages all made their eſcape. Shortly after this the Indians ſtole horſes, and killed ſome people on the frontiers. The king's proclamation was then circulating and ſet up in various public places, prohibiting any perſon from trading with the Indians, until further orders.

Notwithſtanding all this, about the firſt of March, 1765, a number of waggons loaded with Indian goods, and warlike ſtores, were ſent from Philadelphia to Henry Pollens, Conococheague, and from thence ſeventy pack-horſes were loaded with theſe goods, in order to carry them to Fort Pitt. This alarmed the country, and Mr. William Duffield raiſed about [illegible] met the pack-horses at the place where Mercersburg now stands. Mr. Duffield desired the employers to store up their goods, and not proceed, until further orders. They made light of this, and went over the North Mountain, where they lodged in a small valley called the Great Cove. Mr. Duffield and his party followed after, and came to their lodging, and again urged them to store up their goods:—He reasoned with them on the impropriety of their proceedings, and the great danger the frontier inhabitants would be exposed to, if the Indians should now get a supply:—He said as it was well known that they had scarcely any ammunition, and were almost [illegible] to supply them now, would be a kind of murder, and would be illegally trading at the expence of the blood and treasure of the frontiers. Notwithstanding his powerful reasoning, these traders made game of what he said, and would only answer him by ludicrous burlesque.

When I beheld this, and found that Mr. Duffield would not compel them to store up their goods, I collected ten of my old warriors, that I had formerly disciplined in the Indian way, went off privately, after night, and encamped in the woods. The next day, as usual, we blacked and painted, and waylayed them near Sidelong Hill. I scattered my men about forty rod along the side of the road, and ordered every two to take a tree, and about eight or ten rod between each couple, with orders to keep a reserve fire, one not to fire until his comrade had loaded his gun—by this means we kept up a constant, slow fire, upon them from front to rear:—We then heard nothing of these traders' merriment or burlesque. When they saw their pack-horses falling close by them, they called out *pray gentlemen, what would you have us to do?* The reply was, *collect all your loads to the front, and unload them in one place; take your private property, and immediately retire.* When they were gone, we burnt what they left, which consisted of blankets, shirts, vermillion, lead, beads, wampum, tomahawks, scalping knives, &c.

The traders went back to Fort Loudon, and applied to the commanding officer there, and got a party of Highland soldiers, and went with them in quest of the robbers, as they called us, and without applying to a magistrate, or obtaining any civil authority, but barely upon suspicion, they took a number of creditable persons prisoners, (who were chiefly not any way concerned in this action) and confined them in the guard-house in Fort Loudon. I then raised three hundred riflemen, marched to Fort Loudon, and encamped on a hill in sight of the fort. We were not long there, until we had more than double as many of the British troops prisoners in our camp, as they had of our people in the guard-house. Captain Grant, a Highland officer, who commanded Fort Loudon, then sent a flag of truce to our camp, where we settled a cartel, and gave them three for one, which enabled us to redeem all our men from the guard-house, without further difficulty.

After this Captain Grant kept a number of rifle-guns, which the Highlanders had taken from the country people, and refused to give them up. As he was riding out one day, we took him prisoner, and detained him until he delivered up the arms; we also destroyed a large quantity of gun-powder that the traders had stored up, lest it should be conveyed privately to the Indians. The king's troops, and our party, had now got entirely out of the channel of the civil law, and many unjustifiable things were done by both parties. This convinced me more than ever I had been before, of the absolute necessity of the civil law, in order to govern mankind.

About this time the following lines were composed by Mr. George Campbell (an Irish gentleman, who had been educated in Dublin) and was frequently sung to the tune of the Black Joke.

1. Ye patriot souls who love to sing,
What serves your country and your king,
In wealth, peace, and royal estate;
Attention give whilst I rehearse,
A modern fact, in jingling verse,
How party interest strove what it cou'd,
To profit itself by public blood,
But justly met its merited fate.

2. Let all those Indian traders claim,
Their just reward, inglorious fame,
For vile base and treacherous ends.
To Pollins, in the spring they sent,
Much warlike stores, with an intent
To carry them to our barbarous foes,
Expecting that no-body dare oppose,
A present to their Indian friends.

3. Astonish'd at the wild design,
Frontier inhabitants combin'd,
With brave souls, to stop their career;
Although some men apostatiz'd,
Who first the grand attempt devis'd,
The bold heroes they bravely stood,
[illegible] their lives for their country's good,
[illegible] and [illegible] to them.

4. On March the fifth, in sixty-five,
Their Indian presents did arrive,
In long pomp and cavalcade,
Near Sidelong Hill, where in disguise,
Some patriots did their train surprise,
And quick as lightning tumbled their loads,
And kindled them bonfires in the woods,
And mostly burnt their whole brigade.

5. At Loudon, when they heard the news,
They scarcely knew which way to choose,
For blind rage and discontent;
At length some soldiers they sent out,
With guides for to conduct the route,
And seized some men that were trav'ling there,
And hurried them into Loudon where
They laid them fast with one consent.

6. But men of resolution thought,
Too much to see their neighbors caught,
For no crime but false surmise;
Forthwith they join'd a warlike band,
And march'd to Loudon out of hand,
And kept the jailors prisoners there,
Until our friends enlarged were,
Without fraud or any disguise.

7. Let mankind censure or commend,
This rash performance in the end,
Then both sides will find their account.
'Tis true no law can justify
To burn our neighbours property,
But when this property is design'd,
To serve the enemies of mankind,
It's high treason in the amount.

After this we kept up a guard of men on the frontiers, for several months, to prevent supplies being sent to the Indians, until it was proclaimed that Sir William Johnson had made peace with them, and then we let the traders pass unmolested.

In the year 1766, I heard that Sir William Johnson, the king's agent for settling affairs with the Indians, had purchased from them all the land west of the Appalachian Mountains, that lay between the Ohio and the Cherokee river; and as I knew by conversing with the Indians in their own tongue, that there was a large body of rich land there, I concluded I would take a tour weſtward, and explore that country.

I ſet out about the laſt of June, 1766, and went in the firſt place to Holſtein River, and from thence I travelled weſtward in company with Joſhua Horton, Uriah Stone, William Baker, and James Smith, who came from near Carliſle. There was only four white men of us, and a mulattoe ſlave about eighteen years of age, that Mr. Horton had with him. We explored the country ſouth of Kentucky, and there was no more ſign of white men there then, than there is now weſt of the head waters of the Miſſouri. We alſo explored Cumberland and Tenneſſee Rivers, from Stone's* River down to the Ohio.

When we came to the mouth of Tenneſſee, my fellow travellers concluded that they would proceed on to the Illinois, and ſee ſome more of the land to the weſt; this I would not agree to. As I had already been longer from home than what I expected, I thought my wife would be diſtreſſed, and think I was killed by the Indians; therefore I concluded that I would return home. I ſent my horſe with my fellow travellers to the Illinois, as it was difficult to take a horſe through the mountains. My comrades gave me the greateſt part of the ammunition they then had, which amounted only to half a pound of powder, and lead equivalent. Mr. Horton alſo lent me his mulattoe boy, and I then ſet off through the wilderneſs, for Carolina.

About eight days after I left my company at the mouth of Tenneſſee, on my journey eaſtward, I got a cane ſtab in my foot, which occaſioned my leg to ſwell, and I ſuffered much pain. I was now in a doleful ſituation,—far from any of the human ſpecies, excepting black Jamie, or the ſavages, and I knew not when I might meet with them;—my caſe appeared deſperate, and I thought ſomething muſt be done. All the ſurgical inſtruments I had, was a knife, a mockaſin awl, and a pair of bullet moulds; with theſe I determined to draw the ſnag from my foot, if poſſible. I ſtuck the awl in the ſkin, and with the knife I cut the fleſh away from around the cane, and then I commanded the mulattoe fellow to catch it with the bullet moulds, and pull it out, which he did. When I ſaw it, it ſeemed a ſhocking thing to be in any perſon's foot; it will therefore be ſuppoſed that I was very glad to have it out. The black boy attended upon me, and obeyed my directions faithfully. I ordered him to ſearch for Indian medicine, and told him to get me a quantity of bark from the root of a lynn tree, which I made him beat on a stone, with a tomahawk, and boil it in a kettle, and with the ooze I bathed my foot and leg—what remained when I had finished bathing, I boiled to a jelly, and made poultices thereof. As I had no rags, I made use of the green moss that grows upon logs, and wrapped it round with elm bark: by this means (simple as it may seem) the swelling and inflamation in a great measure abated. As stormy weather appeared, I ordered Jamie to make us a shelter, which he did by erecting forks and poles, and covering them over with bark, like a [illegible]. It was not above one hundred yards from a large buffaloe road. As we were almost out of provision, I commanded Jamie to take my gun, and I went along as well as I could, concealed myself near the road, and killed a buffaloe. When this was done, we jirked* the lean, and fryed the tallow out of the fat meat, which we kept to stew with our jirk as we needed it.

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* Stone's River is a ſouth branch of Cumberland, and empties into it above Naſhville. We firſt gave it this name in our journal in May 1767, after one of my fellow travellers, Mr. Uriah Stone, and I am told that it retains the ſame name unto this day.

While I lay at this place, all the books I had to read, was a Psalm Book, and Watts upon Prayer. Whilst in this situation, I composed the following verses, which I then frequently sung.

Six weeks I've in this desart been,
With one mulatto lad,
Excepting this poor stupid slave,
No company I had.

2. In solitude I here remain,
A cripple very lame,
No friend or neighbour to be found,
My case for to explain.

3. Far far from home, far from the wife,
Which in my bosom lay,
Far from my children dear, which used
Around me for to play.

4. This doleful circumstance cannot
My happiness prevent,
While peace of conscience I enjoy,
Great comfort and content.

I continued in this place until I could walk slowly, without crutches. As I now lay near a great buffaloe road, I was afraid that the Indians might be passing that way and discover my fire-place, therefore I moved off from thence, where I remained until I killed an elk. As my foot was yet sore, I concluded that I would stay here until it was healed, lest by travelling too soon it might again be inflamed.

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* [illegible]

In a few weeks after, I proceeded on, and in October I arrived in Carolina. I had now been eleven months in the wilderness, and during this time I neither tasted bread, [illegible] [illegible] or spirituous liquors; and three months of which I saw none of the human species, except Jim.

When I came into the settlements, my clothes were almost worn out, and the boy had nothing on but [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. He had borne this hunger, [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] this dreadful [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible], which he [illegible] [illegible] him, and [illegible] this one. I had not travelled far after I came to the [illegible] I was strictly examined by the inhabitants. I told them the whole, and where I came from, &c. but my story appeared so strange to them, that they did not believe me. They said they had never heard of any one coming through the wilderness from the north of Tennessee, and if any one would undertake such a journey, surely no man would [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. They said that they thought that all I had told them was a lie, and on suspicion they took me immediately, and put a guard over me.

While I was confined here, I met with a respectable old acquaintance, who voluntarily became my voucher; and also told me of a number of my acquaintances that were then near this place, who had moved from [illegible]. On this being made public, I was liberated. I went immediately and obtained a pass, and one of my old acquaintances made me a present of a [illegible]. I then cast away my old rags, and [illegible] the clothes I [illegible] had [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], and a new shirt; also an old blanket, which I frequently carried on my back in good weather. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] I marched on with my white shirt [illegible], and Jim [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] him, myself appearing white, and Jim very black, alarmed the dogs wherever we came, so that they [illegible] violently. The people frequently came out and asked us where we came from, &c. I told them the truth, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the most part believed my story, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] them my pass. In this way I came up to [illegible] [illegible], where I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] I had [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. When I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible], or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] without interruption, provided he was only well dressed, whereas the shabby villain would be immediately detected.

I returned home to Conococheague, in the fall 1769. When I arrived, I found that my wife and friends had despaired of ever seeing me again, as they had heard that I was killed by the Indians, and my horse brought into one of the Cherokee towns.

In the year 1769, the Indians again made incursions on the frontiers; yet, the traders continued carrying goods and warlike stores to them. The frontiers took the alarm, and a number of persons collected, destroyed and plundered a quantity of their powder, lead, &c. in Bedford county. Shortly after this, some of these persons, with others, were apprehended and laid in irons in the guard-house in Fort Bedford, on suspicion of being the perpetrators of this crime.

Though I did not altogether approve of the conduct of this new club of black-boys, yet I concluded that they should not lay in irons in the guard-house, or remain in confinement, by arbitrary or military power. I resolved therefore, if possible, to release them, if they even should be tried by the civil law afterwards. I collected eighteen of my old black-boys, that I had seen tried in the Indian war, &c. I did not desire a large party, lest they should be too much alarmed at Bedford, and accordingly prepare for us. We marched along the public road in day-light, and made no secret of our design:—We told those whom we met, that we were going to take Fort Bedford, which appeared to them a very unlikely story. Before this I made it known to one William Thompson, a man whom I could trust, and who lived there: him I employed as a spy, and sent him along on horse-back, before, with orders to meet me at a certain place near Bedford, one hour before day. The next day a little before sun-set we encamped near the crossings of Juniata, about fourteen miles from Bedford, and erected tents, as though we intended staying all night, and sundry men in my company knew no [illegible]. Knowing that they would hear this in Bedford, and wishing it so to be the case, I thought to surprize them, by stealing a march.

As the moon rose about eleven o'clock, I ordered my boys to march, and we went on at the rate of five miles an hour, until we met Thompson at the place appointed. He told us that the commanding officer had frequently heard of us by travellers, and had ordered thirty men upon guard. He said they knew our number, and only made game of the notion of eighteen men coming to rescue the prisoners, but they did not expect us before towards the middle of the day. I asked him if the gate was open. He said it was then shut, but he expected they would open it as usual, at day-light, as they apprehended no danger. I then moved my men privately up under the bank of Juniata, where we lay concealed about one hundred yards from the fort gate. I had ordered the men to keep a profound silence, until we got into it. I then sent off Thompson again, to spy. At day-light he returned, and told us that the gate was open, and three centinels were standing upon the wall—that the guards were taking a morning dram, and their arms standing together in one place. I then concluded to rush into the fort, and told Thompson to run before me to the arms. We ran with all our might, and as it was a misty morning, the centinels scarcely saw us until we were within the gate, and took possession of the arms. Just as we were entering, two of them discharged their guns, though I do not believe they aimed at us. We then raised a shout, which surprised the town, though some of them were well pleased with the news. We compelled a black-smith to take the irons off the prisoners, and then we left the place. This, I believe, was the first British fort in America, that was taken by what they called American rebels.

Some time after this I took a journey westward, in order to survey some located land I had on and near the Youghiogheny. As I passed near Bedford, while I was walking and leading my horse, I was overtaken by some men on horseback, like travellers. One of them asked my name, and on telling it, they immediately pulled out their pistols, and presented them at me, calling upon me to deliver myself up, or I was a dead man. I stept back, presented my rifle, and told them to stand off. One of them [illegible] past another man, and [illegible] when I fired [illegible] of them [illegible] at the same time, and one of my fellow travellers fell. The others then rushed up, [illegible] took my gun [illegible] charged me with killing my fellow traveller, and [illegible] that I had accidentally [illegible] had nothing to do with the public quarrel. They informed [illegible] and asked [illegible]. I told them that by [illegible] or made a few [illegible] I had [illegible] [illegible]

Shortly after I came here, we heard that a number of my old black boys were coming to tear down the jail. I told the ſheriff that I would not be reſcued, as I knew that the indictment was wrong; therefore I wiſhed to ſtand my trial. As I had found the black boys to be always under good command, I expected I could prevail on them to return, and therefore wiſhed to write to them—to this the ſheriff readily agreed. I wrote a letter to them, with irons on my hands, which was immediately ſent; but as they had heard that I was in irons, they would come on. When we heard they were near the town, I told the ſheriff I would ſpeak to them out of the window, and if the irons were off, I made no doubt but I could prevail on them to deſiſt. The ſheriff ordered them to be taken off, and juſt as they were taken off my hands, the black boys came running up to the jail. I went to the window and called to them, and they gave attention. I told them as my indictment was for wilful murder, to admit of being reſcued, would appear diſhonorable. I thanked them for their kind intentions, and told them the greateſt favor they could confer upon me, would be to grant me this one requeſt, *to withdraw from the jail, and return in peace*; to this they complied, and withdrew. While I was ſpeaking the irons were taken off my feet, and never again put on.

Before this party arrived at Conococheague, they met about three hundred more, on the way, coming to their aſſiſtance, and were reſolved to take me out; they then turned, and all came together, to Carliſle. The reaſon they gave for coming again, was, becauſe they thought that government was ſo enraged at me that I would not get a fair trial; but my friends and myſelf together again prevailed on them to return in peace.

At this time the public papers were partly filled with theſe occurrences. The following is an extract from the Pennſylvania Gazette, number 2132, November 2d, 1769.

"*Conococheague, October 16th, 1769.*

"Meſſrs. Hall & Sellers,

"Pleaſe to give the following narrative a place in your Gazette, and you will much oblige

"Your humble ſervant,

"WILLIAM SMITH."

"Whereas, in the Gazette of September 28th, 1769, there appeared an extract of a letter from Bedford, September 12th, 1769, relative to James Smith, as being apprehended on ſuſpicion of being a black boy, then killing his companion, &c. I look upon myſelf as bound by all the obligations of truth, juſtice to character and to the world, to ſet that matter in a true light; by which, I hope the impartial world will be enabled to obtain a more juſt opinion of the preſent ſcheme of acting in this end of the country, as alſo to form a true idea of the truth, candor, and ingenuity of the author of the ſaid account, in ſetting that matter in ſo partial a light. The ſtate of the caſe (which can be made appear by undeniable evidence,) was this: “James Smith, (who is ſtiled the principal ring-leader of the black boys by the ſaid author) together with his younger brother, and brother-in-law, were going out in order to ſurvey and improve their land on the waters of Youghogeny, and as the time of their return was long, they took with them their arms and horſes loaded with the neceſſaries of life; and as one of Smith's brother-in-law was an artiſt in ſurveying, he had alſo with him the inſtruments for that buſineſs. Travelling on the way, within about nine miles of Bedford, they overtook and joined company with one Johnſon and Moorhead, who likewiſe had horſes loaded, part of which loading was liquor, and part ſeed wheat, their intentions being to make improvements on their lands. When they arrived at the parting of the road on this ſide Bedford, the company ſeparated, one part going through the town, in order to get a horſe ſhod, were apprehended, and put under confinement, but for what crime they know not, and treated in a manner utterly inconſiſtent with the laws of their country, and the liberties of Engliſhmen.—Whilſt the other part, viz. James Smith, Johnſon and Moorhead, taking along the other road, were met by John Holmes eſq; to whom James Smith ſpoke in a friendly manner, but received no anſwer. Mr. Holmes haſted, and gave an alarm in Bedford, from whence a party of men were ſent in purſuit of them; but Smith and his companions not having the leaſt thought of any ſuch meaſures being taken, (why ſhould they?) travelled ſlowly on. After they had gained the place where the roads joined, they delayed until the other part of their company ſhould come up. At this time a number of men came riding, like men travelling; they aſked Smith his name, which he told them—on which they immediately aſſaulted him as highway-man, and with preſented piſtols, commanded him to ſurrender, or he was a dead man; upon which Smith ſtepped back, aſked them if they were highwaymen, charging them at the ſame time to ſtand off, when immediately, Robert George (one of the aſſailants) ſnapped a piſtol at Smith's head, and that before Smith offered to ſhoot (which ſaid George himſelf acknowledged upon oath); whereupon Smith preſented his gun at another of the aſſailants, who was preparing to ſhoot him with his piſtol. The ſaid aſſailant having a hold of Johnſon by the arm, two ſhots were fired, one by Smith's gun, the other from a pistol, so quick as just to be distinguishable, and Johnson fell. After which Smith was taken and carried into Bedford, where John Holmes, esq. the informer, held an inquest on the corpse, one of the assailants being [illegible] as an evidence, (nor was there any other troubled about the matter) Smith was brought in guilty of wilful murder, and for committed to prison. But a jealousy arising in the breasts of many that the inquest, either through inadvertency, ignorance or some other default, was not so fair as it ought to be; William Doty, coroner of the county, upon requisition made, thought proper to re-examine the matter, and summoning a jury of [illegible] men, out of three townships—men whose [illegible] and honesty is unquestionable with all who are acquainted with them, and having raised the corpse, held an inquest in a solemn manner, during three days. In the course of their scrutiny they found Johnson's shirt blacked about the bullet-hole, by the powder of the charge by which he was killed; afterwards they examined into the distance Smith stood from Johnson when he fired, and one of the assailants being [illegible] to, each, swore to the respective spots of ground they each stood on at that time, which the jury measured, and found to be twenty-three feet nearly; then trying the experiment of shooting at the same shirt, both with and against the wind, and at that same distance, found no effect, not the least stain from the powder on the shirt.—And let any person that pleases make the experiment, and I will venture to affirm he shall find that powder will not stain at half the distance above mentioned, if shot out of a rifle gun, which Smith's was. Upon the whole, the jury before the [illegible] [illegible], and [illegible] brought in their verdict that [illegible] one of the assailants themselves must necessarily have been the perpetrators of the murder.

"I have now represented the matter in its true and genuine colours, and which I will abide by. I only beg liberty to make a few remarks and reflections on the above mentioned extract. "The [illegible] Smith, with two others in company, [illegible] the truth, [illegible]," by which it is plain [illegible] to make the public believe that Smith and his [illegible] company, had taken some bye road, which is [illegible] it was the king's high-way, and the [illegible] [illegible] being [illegible] to the one [illegible] [illegible] of the company have gone through the [illegible] already [illegible]. Again, the author [illegible] Smith and his companions [illegible] from Bedford, and [illegible] tol at one of the men, who was struggling with his companion, fired it at him, and shot his companion through the body." Here I would just remark again, the unfair and partial account given of this matter, by the author; not a word mentioned of George's snapping his pistol before Smith offered to fire, or of whether of the assailants actually firing his pistol, though he confessed himself afterwards, he had done so; not the least mention of the company's baggage, which, as seen in the bush open to a fair enquiry, would have been sufficient proof of the innocence of their intentions. Must not an effective blush overspread the face of the partial representer of facts, when he finds the veil he had thrown over truth thus pulled aside, and exposed to naked view. Suppose it should be granted that Smith shot the man [illegible] is true, and I profess [illegible] by the law) I would only ask, was he not on his own defence? Was he not publicly attacked? Was he not charged on the peril of his life, to surrender, without knowing for what, no warrant being shewn him, or any declaration made of their authority? And seeing such things set [illegible] would any man, any person in the least acquainted with the laws of the land, or morality, judge him guilty of murder? [illegible] prudence every one who has an opportunity of [illegible] will by this time be convinced that the proceedings against Smith were truly unlawful and tyrannical, perhaps unparalleled by any instance in a civilized nation; [illegible] in order to bring him to trial for [illegible] all bounds of law or government.

If the author of the extract thinks I have treated him unfairly, that I have [illegible] any thing [illegible] his [illegible] and I will, if called upon, vindicate all that I have [illegible] against him or his [illegible]

"WILLIAM SMITH."

I remained in prison [illegible] and during [illegible] the charge of those that were confined [illegible] who [illegible] I have learned [illegible] four months [illegible] atteſted to ſtrong preſumptive evidence that it could not poſſibly be my gun that killed Johnſon, the jury, without heſitation, brought in their verdict, NOT GUILTY. One of the judges then declared that not one of this jury ſhould ever hold any office above a conſtable. Notwithſtanding this proud, ill-natured declaration, ſome of theſe jurymen afterwards filled honorable places, and I myſelf was elected the next year, and ſat on the board* in Bedford county, and afterwards I ſerved in the board three years in Weſtmoreland county.

In the year 1774, another Indian war was commenced, though at this time the white people were the aggreſſors. The proſpect of this terrified the frontier inhabitants, inſomuch that the greater part on the Ohio waters, either fled over the mountain eaſtward, or collected into forts. As the ſtate of Pennſylvania apprehended great danger, they at this time appointed me captain over what was then called the Pennſylvania line. As they knew I could raiſe men that would anſwer their purpoſe, they ſeemed to lay aſide their former inveteracy.

In the year 1776, I was appointed a major in the Pennſylvania aſſociation. When American independence was declared, I was elected a member of the convention in Weſtmoreland county, ſtate of Pennſylvania, and of the aſſembly as long as I propoſed to ſerve.

While I attended the aſſembly in Philadelphia, in the year 1777, I ſaw in the ſtreet, ſome of my old boys, on their way to the Jerſeys, againſt the Britiſh, and they deſired me to go with them. I petitioned the houſe for leave of abſence, in order to head a ſcouting party, which was granted me. We marched into the Jerſeys, and went before General Waſhington's army, way-laid the road at Rocky Hill, attacked about two hundred of the Britiſh, and with thirty-ſix men drove them out of the woods into a large open field. After this we attacked a party that were guarding the officers baggage, and took the wagon, and ſome Heſſians, and alſo re-took ſome of our continental ſoldiers which they had with them. In a few days we killed and took more of the Britiſh, than was of our party. At this time I took the camp fever, and was carried in a wagon to [illegible] where I lay [illegible]. While I was [illegible], Major James M'Common, took the command of the party, and had greater ſucceſs than I had. [illegible] the party, that ſerved [illegible] againſt the [illegible] with ſuch ſucceſs that Major M'Common [illegible] have made ſhort work of the Britiſh [illegible]

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* [illegible]

When I returned to Philadelphia, I applied to the assembly for leave to raise a battalion of riflemen, which they appeared very willing to grant, but said they could not do it, as the power of raising men and commissioning officers was at that time committed to General Washington, therefore they advised me to apply to his excellency. The following is a true copy of a letter of recommendation which I received at this time, from the council of safety:

"IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY,
"*Philadelphia, February* 10th, 1777.

"SIR,

"Application has been made to us by James Smith esq. of Westmoreland, a gentleman well acquainted with the Indian customs, and their manner of carrying on war, for leave to raise a battalion of marks-men, expert in the use of rifles, and such as are acquainted with the Indian method of fighting, to be dressed entirely in their fashion, for the purpose of annoying and harrassing the enemy in their marches and encampments. We think two or three hundred men in that way, might be very useful. Should your excellency be of the same opinion, and direct such a corps to be formed, we will take proper measures for raising the men on the frontiers of this state, and follow such other directions as your excellency shall give in this matter.

"*To his excellency General Washington.*"

"The foregoing is a copy of a letter to his excellency General Washington, from the council of safety.

"JACOB S. HOWELL, *Secretary.*"

After this I received another letter of recommendation, which is as follows:

"We whose names are under written, do certify that James Smith (now of the county of Westmoreland) was taken prisoner by the Indians, in an expedition before General Braddock's defeat, in the year 1755, and remained with them until the year 1760. And also that he served as ensign in the year 1763, under the pay of the province of Pennsylvania, and as lieutenant in the year 1764, and as captain in the year 1774; and as a military officer he has sustained a good character. And we do recommend him as a person well acquainted with the Indians' method of fighting, and, in our humble opinion, he is exceedingly fit for the command of a ranging or scouting party, which we are also humbly of opinion are useful (if not thoriſed) ſoon raiſe. Given under our hands at Philadelphia, this 13th day of March, 1777.

Thomas Paxton, capt.
William Duffield, eſq.
David Robb, eſq.
John Piper, col.
William M'Comb,
William Pepper, lieut. col.
James M'Clane, eſq.
John Proctor, col.
Jonathan Hoge, eſq.
William Parker, capt.
Robert Elliot,
Joseph Armſtrong, col.
Robert Peebles, lieut. col.
Samuel Patton, capt.
William Lyon, eſq.”

With theſe, and ſome other letters of recommendation, which I have not now in my poſſeſſion, I went to his excellency, who lay at Morriſtown. Though General Waſhington did not fall in with the ſcheme of white-men turning Indians, yet he propoſed giving me a major's place in a battallion of rifle men already raiſed. I thanked the general for his propoſal; but as I entertained no high opinion of the colonel that I was to ſerve under, and with him I had no proſpect of getting my old boys again, I thought I would be of more uſe in the cauſe we were then ſtruggling to ſupport, to remain with them as a militia officer, therefore I did not accept this offer.

In the year 1778, I received a colonel's commiſſion, and after my return to Weſtmoreland, the Indians made an attack upon our frontiers. I then raiſed men and purſued them, and the ſecond day we overtook and defeated them. We likewiſe took four ſcalps, and recovered the horſes and plunder which they were carrying off. At the time of this attack, Captain John Hinkſton purſued an Indian, both their guns being empty, and after the fray was over he was miſſing.—While we were enquiring about him, he came walking up, ſeemingly unconcerned, with a bloody ſcalp in his hand—he had purſued the Indian about a quarter of a mile, and tomahawked him.

Not long after this I was called upon to command four hundred riflemen, on an expedition againſt the Indian town on French Creek. It was ſome time in November, before I received orders from General M'Intoſh, to march, and then we were poorly equipped, and ſcarce of proviſions. We marched in three columns, forty rod from each other. There were alſo flankers on the outſide of each column, that marched a-breaſt, in the rear, in ſcattered order—and even in the columns, the men were one rod apart—and in the front, the volunteers marched a-breaſt, in the ſame manner of the flankers, ſcouring the woods. In caſe of an attack, the officers were immediately to order the men to face out and take trees—in this poſition the Indians could not avail themſelves by ſurrounding us, or have an opportunity of ſhooting a man from either ſide of the tree. If attacked, the centre column was to reinforce whatever part appeared to require it moſt. When we encamped, our encampment formed a hollow ſquare, including about thirty or forty acres—on the outſide of the ſquare there were centinels placed, whoſe buſineſs it was to watch for the enemy, and ſee that neither horſes or bullocks went out:—And when encamped, if any attacks were made by an enemy, each officer was immediately to order the men to face out and take trees, as before mentioned; and in this form they could not take the advantage by ſurrounding us, as they commonly had done when they fought the whites.

The following is a copy of general orders, given at this time, which I have found among my journals:

"AT CAMP—OPPOSITE FORT PITT,

"*November 29th, 1778.*

"GENERAL ORDERS:

"*A copy thereof is to be given to each captain and ſubaltern, and to be read to each company.*

"You are to march in three columns, with flankers on the front and rear, and to keep a profound ſilence, and not to fire a gun, except at the enemy, without particular orders for that purpoſe; and in caſe of an attack, let it be ſo ordered that every other man only, is to ſhoot at once, excepting on extraordinary occaſions. The one half of the men to keep a reſerve fire, until their comrades load; and let every one be particularly careful not to fire at any time, without a view of the enemy, and that not at too great a diſtance. I earneſtly urge the above caution, as I have known very remarkable and grievous errors of this kind. You are to encamp on the hollow ſquare, except the volunteers, who, according to their own requeſt, are to encamp on the front of the ſquare. A ſufficient number of centinels are to be kept round the ſquare, at a proper diſtance. Every man is to be under arms at the break of day, and to parade oppoſite to their fire-places, facing out, and when the officers examine their arms, and find them in good order, and give neceſſary directions, they are to be diſmiſſed, with orders to have their arms near them, and be always in readineſs.

"Given by

"JAMES SMITH, *Colonel*."

In this manner we proceeded on, to French Creek, where we found the Indian town evacuated. I then went up farther than my orders called for, in queſt of Indians; but our proviſion being nearly exhauſted, we were obliged to return. On on my way back, we met with considerable difficulties on account of high waters and scarcity of provision; yet we never lost one horse, [illegible]

After peace was made with the Indians, I [illegible] with some of them in Pittsburg, and enquired of them [illegible] concerning this expedition [illegible] they told me that they [illegible] the movements of this army [illegible] and as they passed [illegible] the places [illegible] they had [illegible] the Allegheny and computed their number [illegible] one thousand [illegible] [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] they could not [illegible] [illegible]

In the year 1788 I settled in Bourbon county, Kentucky, [illegible] miles above Paris; and in the same year was elected a member of the convention that sat at Danville to confer about a separation from the state of Virginia—and from that year until the year 1799, I represented Bourbon county, either in convention or as a member of the general assembly, except two years, that I was left a few votes behind.

[illegible] MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS.

The Indians [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Grandfather, Father, or Uncle. They have no such thing [illegible] The common mode of address is, my Friend, Brother, Cousin, or [illegible]

[illegible] every day. We are [illegible] can arrive at any place of honour among them but by being [illegible] Either [illegible] exploit in war [illegible] must be performed before any one can be advanced in the military line, or become eminent for wisdom before they [illegible] a certain [illegible] age [illegible] a most ridiculous thing [illegible] a company of warriors [illegible] office [illegible] even [illegible] merit [illegible] advantage any one, until they arrive at or near middle age [illegible] very [illegible] they [illegible] to their bodies [illegible] while they have any [illegible] [illegible] fashions as we do. They are very fond of [illegible] [illegible] any other way [illegible]

In courtship they also [illegible] common thing among them for a young woman [illegible] to make love to a young man [illegible] way [illegible] the other is the most common. The squaws are [illegible] very [illegible] in their words and actions, and will [illegible] put the young men to the blush. The men commonly appear to be possessed of more modesty than the women; yet I [illegible] have been acquainted with some young squaws that appeared really modest; [illegible] consequence of [illegible]

[illegible]

the [illegible] Ottawas [illegible], else the Wiandots and Ottawas, by [illegible] these three nations, and I found that they agreed in their traditions and opinions concerning the [illegible] and even number of the same [illegible] religious sentiments. Their tradition is, [illegible] and many of them [illegible] of the world [illegible] found when an island [illegible] in a canoe [illegible] and did many [illegible] which [illegible] only [illegible] then [illegible] sufficient room [illegible] therefore [illegible] and prayed [illegible] being then heard [illegible] Water [illegible] and [illegible] and other materials [illegible] enlarging the [illegible] and by this means, they say, it was increased to the [illegible]; therefore they say, that the white people ought not to encroach upon them, or take their land from them [illegible] great [illegible] this time the angels or heavenly inhabitants [illegible] frequently visited them and [illegible] with [illegible] gave directions how to pray, [illegible] When [illegible] offended, they told them they were to [illegible] tobacco, buffalo and deer bones, and [illegible] to burn bones of racoons [illegible] place.

The Ottawas say, that there are two great beings that govern the universe, who are at war with each other; one they call Maneto, and the other Matchemaneto. They say that Maneto is all kindness and love, and that Matchemaneto is an evil spirit, that delights in doing mischief; and some of them think, that they are equal in power, and therefore worship the evil spirit out of a principle of fear. Others doubt which of the two may be the most powerful, and therefore endeavour to keep in favour with both, by giving each of them some kind of worship. Others say that Maneto is the first cause, and therefore must be all powerful and supreme, and ought to be adored and worshipped, whereas Matchemaneto ought to be rejected and despised.

Those of the Ottawas that worship the evil spirit, pretend to be great conjurors. I think if there is any such thing now in the world as witchcraft, it is among these people. I have been told wonderful stories concerning their proceedings; I never

[illegible]

As they are illiterate, they consequently have no writ-

ON THEIR DISCIPLINE, AND METHOD OF [illegible]

[illegible]

Colonel Loughrie, on the Ohio, near the Miami, on his way to meet General Clarke, the year [illegible] a little after the time of the British [illegible] the Indians, there they defeated Colonel Todd, in Kentucky, near the Blue Licks, in the year 1782; and General Harmar, between the Ohio and Lake Erie, in the year 1790, and General St. Clair, in the year 1791; and it is said that there were more of our men killed at this defeat, than there were in any one battle during our contest with Great Britain. They had no aid when they fought against the Virginians [illegible] about a whole day at the Great Kenhawa, in the year 1774; and when they found they could not prevail against the Virginians they made a most artful retreat. Notwithstanding they had the Ohio to cross, some continued firing, whilst others were crossing the river; in this manner they proceeded until they all got over, before the Virginians knew that they had retreated; and in this retreat they carried off all their wounded. [illegible] though in this, I believe it was not [illegible]

Nothing can be more plainly manifested than the [illegible]

[illegible]

in America; five to one, as they did the Eaſt-Indians, and therefore my report would not anſwer their purpoſe, as they could not give an honorable account of the war, but by augmenting their number. I am of opinion that from Braddock's war, until the preſent time, there never were more than three thouſand Indians at any time, in arms againſt us, weſt of Fort Pitt, and frequently not half that number. According to the Indians' own accounts, during the whole of Braddock's war, or from 1755, till 1758, they killed or took, fifty of our people, for one that they loſt. In the war that commenced in the year 1763, they killed, comparatively, few of our people, and loſt more of theirs, as the frontiers (eſpecially the Virginians) had learned ſomething of their method of war: yet, they, in this war, according to their own accounts, (which I believe to be true) killed or took ten of our people, for one they loſt.

Let us now take a view of the blood and treaſure that was ſpent in oppoſing comparatively, a few Indian warriors, with only ſome aſſiſtance from the French, the firſt four years of the war. Additional to the amazing deſtruction and ſlaughter that the frontiers ſuſtained, from James River to Suſquehanna, and about thirty miles broad; the following campaigns were alſo carried on againſt the Indians:—General Braddock's, in the year 1755: Colonel Armſtrong's againſt the Cattanyan town, on the Allegheny, 1757: General Forbes's, in 1758: General Stanwick's, in 1759: General Monkton's, in 1760: Colonel Bouquet's, in 1761—and 1763, when he fought the battle of Bruſhy Run, and loſt above one hundred men; but by the aſſiſtance of the Virginia volunteers, drove the Indians: Colonel Armſtrong's, up the Weſt Branch of Suſquehanna, in 1763: General Broadſtreet's, up Lake Erie, in 1764: General Bouquet's, againſt the Indians at Muſkingum, in 1764: Lord Dunmore's, in 1774: General M'Intoſh's, in 1778: Colonel Crawford's, ſhortly after his, General Clarke's, in 1778—1780: Colonel Bowman's, in 1779: General Clarke's, in 1782—againſt the Wabaſh, in 1786: General Logan's againſt the Shawanees, in 1786: General Wilkinſon's, in ——: Colonel Harmer's, in 1790: and General St. Clair's in 1791; which, in all, are twenty-two campaigns, beſide ſmaller expeditions, ſuch as the French Creek expedition, Colonels Edwards's, Loughrie's, &c. All theſe were excluſive of the number of men that were internally employed as ſcouting parties, and in erecting forts, guarding ſtations, &c. When we take the foregoing occurrences into conſideration, may we not reaſonably conclude, that they are the beſt diſciplined troops in the known world? Is it not the beſt diſcipline that has the greateſt tendency to annoy the enemy and ſave their own men? I apprehend that the Indian difcipline is as well calculated to anſwer the purpoſe in the woods of America, as the British diſcipline in Flanders: and Britiſh diſcipline, in the woods, is the way to have men ſlaughtered, with ſcarcely any chance of defending themſelves.

Let us take a view of the benefits we have received, by what little we have learned of their art of war, which coſt us dear, and the loſs we have ſuſtained for want of it, and then ſee if it will not be well worth our while to retain what we have, and alſo to endeavor to improve in this neceſſary branch of buſineſs. Though we have made conſiderable proficiency in this line, and in ſome reſpects out-do them, *viz.* as markſmen, and in cutting our rifles, and keeping them in good order; yet, I apprehend we are far behind in their manœuvres, or in being able to ſurprize, or prevent a ſurprize. May we not conclude that the progreſs we had made in their art of war, contributed conſiderably towards our ſucceſs, in various reſpects, when contending with great Britain for liberty? Had the Britiſh king attempted to enſlave us before Braddock's war, in all probability he might readily have done it, becauſe, except the New-Englanders, who had formerly been engaged in war, with the Indians, we were unacquainted with any kind of war: but after fighting ſuch a ſubtil and barbarous enemy as the Indians, we were not terrified at the approach of Britiſh red-coats.—Was not Burgoyne's defeat accompliſhed in ſome meaſure, by the Indian mode of fighting? and did not Gen. Morgan's rifle-men, and many others, fight with greater ſucceſs, in conſequence of what they had learned of their art of war? Kentucky would not have been ſettled at the time it was, had the Virginians been altogether ignorant of this method of war.

In Braddock's war, the frontiers were laid waſte, for above three hundred miles long, and generally about thirty broad, excepting ſome that were living in forts, and many hundreds, or perhaps thouſands, killed or made captives, and horſes, and all kinds of property carried off: but, in the next Indian war, though we had the ſame Indians to cope with, the frontiers almoſt all ſtood their ground, becauſe they were by this time, in ſome meaſure acquainted with their manœuvres; and the want of this, in the firſt war, was the cauſe of the loſs of many hundred of our citizens, and much treaſure.

Though large volumes have been wrote on morality, yet it may be all ſummed up in ſaying, do as you would wiſh to be done by: ſo the Indians ſum up the art of war in the following manner:

The buſineſs of the private warriors is to be under command, or punctually to obey orders—to learn to march a-breaſt in ſcattered order, ſo as to be in readineſs to ſurround the enemy, or to prevent being ſurrounded—to be good markſmen, and active in the uſe of arms—to practice running—to learn to endure hunger or hardſhips with patience and fortitude—to tell the truth at all times to their officers, but more eſpecially when ſent out to ſpy the enemy.

Concerning Officers. They ſay that it would be abſurd to appoint a man an officer whoſe ſkill and courage had never been tried—that all officers ſhould be advanced only according to merit—that no one man ſhould have the abſolute command of an army—that a council of officers are to determine when, and how an attack is to be made—that it is the buſineſs of the officers to lay plans to take every advantage of the enemy—to ambuſh and ſurprize them, and to prevent being ambuſhed and ſurprized themſelves—it is the duty of officers to prepare and deliver ſpeeches to the men, in order to annimate and encourage them; and on the march, to prevent the men, at any time, from getting into a huddle, becauſe if the enemy ſhould ſurround them in this poſition, they would be expoſed to the enemy's fire. It is likewiſe their buſineſs at all times to endeavor to annoy their enemy, and ſave their own men, and therefore ought never to bring on an attack without conſiderable advantage, or without what appeared to them the ſure proſpect of victory, and that with the loſs of few men: and if at any time they ſhould be miſtaken in this, and are like to loſe many men by gaining the victory, it is their duty to retreat, and wait for a better opportunity of defeating their enemy, without the danger of loſing ſo many men. Their conduct proves that they act upon theſe principles, therefore it is, that from Braddock's war to the preſent time, they have ſeldom ever made an unſucceſsful attack. The battle at the mouth of the Great Kanhawa, is the greateſt inſtance of this; and even then, though the Indians killed about three, for one they loſt, yet they retreated. The loſs of the Virginians in this action, was ſeventy killed, and the ſame number wounded:—The Indians loſt twenty killed on the field, and eight, who died afterwards, of their wounds. This was the greateſt loſs of men that I ever knew the Indians to ſuſtain in any one battle. They will commonly retreat if their men are falling faſt—they will not ſtand cutting, like the Highlanders, or other Britiſh troops: but this proceeds from a compliance with their rules of war, rather than cowardice. If they are ſurrounded, they will fight while there is a man of them alive, rather than ſurrender. When Colonel John Armſtrong ſurrounded the Cattanyan town, on the Allegheny river, Captain Jacobs, a Delaware chief, with ſome warriors, took poſſeſſion of a houſe, defended themſelves for ſome time, and killed a number of our men. As Jacobs could ſpeak

Engliſh, our people called on him to ſurrender; he ſaid that he and his men were warriors, and they would all fight while life remained. He was again told that they ſhould be well uſed, if they would only ſurrender; and if not, the houſe ſhould be burned down over their heads;—Jacobs replied he could eat fire: and when the houſe was in a flame, he and they that were with him, came out in a fighting poſition, and were all killed. As they are a ſharp, active kind of people, and war is their principal ſtudy, in this they have arrived at conſiderable perfection. We may learn of the Indians what is uſeful and laudable, and at the ſame time lay aſide their barbarous proceedings. It is much to be lamented that ſome of our frontier rifle-men are prone to imitate them in their inhumanity. During the Britiſh war, a conſiderable number of men from below Fort Pitt, croſſed the Ohio, and marched into a town of Friendly Indians, chiefly Delawares, who profeſſed the Moravian religion. As the Indians apprehended no danger, they neither lifted arms or fled. After theſe rifle-men were ſometime in the town, and the Indians altogether in their power, in cool blood, they maſſacred the whole town, without diſtinction of age or ſex. This was an act of barbarity beyond any thing I ever knew to be committed by the ſavages themſelves.

Why have we not made greater proficiency in the Indian art of war? Is it becauſe we are too proud to imitate them, even though it ſhould be a means of preſerving the lives of many of our citizens? No! We are not above borrowing language from them, ſuch as homony, pone, tomahawk, &c. which is of little or no uſe to us. I apprehend that the reaſons why we have not improved more in this reſpect, are as follows: no important acquiſition is to be obtained but by attention and diligence; and as it is eaſier to learn to move and act in concert, in cloſe order, in the open plain, than to act in concert in ſcattered order, in the woods; ſo it is eaſier to learn our diſcipline, than the Indian manœuvres. They train up their boys to the art of war from the time they are twelve or fourteen years of age; whereas the principal chance our people had of learning, was by obſerving their movements when in action againſt us. I have been long aſtoniſhed that no one has wrote upon this important ſubject, as their art of war would not only be of uſe to us in caſe of another rupture with them; but were only part of our men taught this art, accompanied with our continental diſcipline, I think no European power, after trial, would venture to ſhew its head in the American woods.

If what I have wrote ſhould meet the approbation of my countrymen, perhaps I may publiſh more upon this ſubject, in a future edition.

END.